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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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23 June 1989

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Further on Angolan Peace Talks in Zaire

Summit To Begin 22 Jun

EA2106160089 Lubumbashi Domestic Service
in French 0430 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Summary] A meeting of African heads of state on the problem of Angola is due to begin tomorrow, 22 June, at Gbadolite in northern Zaire. Eight African leaders were due to attend, but it now appears that there will be some 20 present, including Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, founder-president of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the Republic. The meeting is seen as a diplomatic success for the Zairian president.

Gabon's Bongo Departs for Summit

AB2206111289 Dakar PANA in French 0930 GMT
22 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Libreville, 22 Jun (AGP-GAB/PANA)—Gabonese head of state Omar Bongo left Libreville this morning for Gbadolite (northwestern Zaire), where he will attend a summit of heads of state from North, central, West and southern Africa on the future of Angola and Namibia. [passage omitted]

The Gabonese head of state may return to Libreville later today.

Burundian President To Attend

AB2206111689 Dakar PANA in French 0924 GMT
22 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Bujumbura, 22 Jun (ABP-BUR/PANA)—The president of the Republic of Burundi, Major Pierre Buyoya, left Bujumbura this morning for Gbadolite (northwestern Zaire) to take part in the summit of central and southern African heads of state on the situation in Angola and Namibia. [passage omitted]

Cameroon's Biya To Attend Talks

AB2206104489 Yaounde Domestic Service in French
0530 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Excerpt] A summit of heads of state from central and southern African states will be held today in Gbadolite, northeastern Zaire. President Paul Biya will take part in this summit which is aimed at finding an African solution to the 14-year-old internal conflict in Angola. [passage omitted]

Rwandan President Leaves for Gbadolite

EA2206180289 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1115 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Summary] This morning President Habyarimana left for Gbadolite, in northern Zaire, where a summit of African leaders is to be held today on Angolan and Namibian issues. The talks, which are scheduled to end tonight, will gather representatives of about 20 countries, including 12 heads of state. Apart from the eight heads of

state who met in Luanda on 16 May, the heads of state of Mali and Ivory Coast and a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegation are also to attend. The summit is taking place on the eve of President Mobutu's visit to the United States where he will negotiate for an end to U.S. aid to UNITA.

Central African Republic Head Attends

AB2206190889 Bangui Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] President Andre Kolingba has been in Gbadolite since this morning to take part in the summit on the Angola conflict and President dos Santos's peace plan. President Mobutu Sese Seko was at the airport along with high-ranking officials to welcome his distinguished guests from neighboring countries.

Chad's Hissein Habre at Talks

AB2206210989 Ndjamena Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Excerpt] El Hadj Hissein Habre, the Chadian head of state, has been in Gbadolite, Zaire since this morning to attend the central African heads of state meeting on the Angolan conflict at the invitation of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko. Twelve heads of state and two heads of government are present in Gbadolite. [passage omitted]

Dos Santos Sends Message to Mobutu

AB2206210689 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1930 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite, 22 Jun (ANGOP)—In Gbadolite on 21 June, Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko received a message from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The message was delivered by Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura.

Its content was not disclosed, but it is believed to be connected with the Angolan peace summit of southern and central African heads of state in that Zairian town today.

Lieutenant General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalú leads the Angolan delegation that arrived in Gbadolite on 20 January for talks with Zairian officials on ways to ensure a successful outcome.

Dos Santos En Route to Gbadolite

MB2206200089 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1940 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Luanda, 22 Jun (ANGOP)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos left Luanda this morning for Zaire, to attend another Angolan peace summit today. The summit will be attended by 22 southern and central African heads of state and it comes in the wake of the 16 May Luanda summit.

Guinea-Bissau President Joao Bernardo Vieira and Cape Verde President Aristides Pereira left for Gbadolite together with the Angolan head of state. They had been in transit in Luanda since 21 January.

The Angolan delegation to the talks includes Foreign Affairs Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Afonso van Dunem, MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - Labor Party Central Committee foreign affairs secretary. Both are MPLA-Labor Party Political Bureau members.

Last night, the Angolan head of state commuted death sentences for 50 UNITA [National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola] men, according to a presidential decree read in the evening newscast of the People's Television of Angola, TPA.

UNITA Rejects Savimbi Exile

*MB2206183789 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] African leaders are meeting in Zaire today in a summit aimed at resolving the 14-year-old Angolan civil war, and which could include the first face-to-face meeting between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. [passage omitted]

UNITA's deputy representative in Washington, Mr Marcos Samondo, has just been briefed on the situation. Cliff Saunders spoke to him this afternoon:

[Begin Saunders recording] Mr Samondo told me that the various countries gathered in Zaire would have to put strong pressure on the MPLA if there was to be any chance of negotiations with UNITA. A 10-man UNITA commission was standing by in Zaire for such negotiations, or for talks with any other interested party. He said there were two major obstacles for talks in Zaire between UNITA and the MPLA. The one was continued insistence by the MPLA that UNITA be absorbed into the MPLA party. And the other was demand by the MPLA that Dr Jonas Savimbi go into exile and relieve himself from all political involvement in Angola. Mr Samondo said that UNITA would never agree to these demands. In addition he dismissed the use of intermediaries in negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA. Such talks would have to be direct, he said.

This was the situation few hours ago, but Mr Samondo said it could change at any moment.

Asked why UNITA forces were not taking advantage of the Cuban withdrawal by launching an all-out offensive on the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces in Angola, Mr Samondo said that UNITA was not willing at this stage to jeopardize agreements reached. UNITA also believed that once the majority of Cubans had left Angola, the MPLA government would realize that it could not wage a war against

UNITA successfully on its own and would opt for a settlement. In any event, he said at this stage there were still some 50,000 Cuban troops left in Angola. [end recording]

Jonas Savimbi Arrives 22 Jun

*AB2206163189 Dakar PANA in English 1627 GMT
22 Jun 89*

[Text] Gbadolite (Zaire), 22 June (AZAP/PANA)—Eighteen African heads of state met on Thursday [22 June] at Gbadolite, north-west Zaire, to discuss the situation in Angola and Namibia.

In a major development, the leader of the UNITA, the anti-Angolan Government group, Jonas Savimbi, arrived in the town at 13 hours 20 GMT.

Speaking on arrival, Savimbi said, "I have come to Gbadolite with an open spirit." There are no further details.

The leaders at the meeting are Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi, Hissein Habre of Chad, Andre Kolingba of Central African Republic, Quett Masire of Botswana, Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, Omar Bongo of Gabon, Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde, Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau and Kenneth Kuanda of Zambia.

Others are Paul Biya of Cameroon, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe, Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo and Malian President Moussa Traore, who is also the OAU chairman.

Unconfirmed reports said that the meeting, which began at 13 hours GMT, might admit Savimbi into the hall.

Morocco and Tanzania are represented at the summit by the vice-president and the chairman of the national assembly respectively.

Mobutu Receives Savimbi

*AB2206163989 Paris AFP in French 1512 GMT
22 Jun 89*

[Text] Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA, armed opposition to Luanda, supported by Washington), arrived today at 1420 local time (1320 GMT) in Gbadolite (northwestern Zaire), where a summit of African heads of state is taking place on national reconciliation in Angola. Clad in a black, Mao-collared jacket and gray trousers, and carrying his omnipresent silver-knobbed walking stick, Mr Savimbi was welcomed upon his arrival on a small private jet by Ikema Liloo, the special adviser to Zairian President Mobutu. The small motorcade then drove to the Presidential Palace, where the UNITA leader was received for 45 minutes by Marshal Mobutu.

Questioned by AFP reporters shortly before his departure from the airport, the UNITA leader merely stated that he had "come to this African summit with a spirit of openness." According to authoritative Zairian sources, Jonas Savimbi was expected to appear only at the end of this summit of 18 heads of state. After his talks with the Zairian president, Mr Savimbi left the palace before Mobutu's meeting with all the heads of state.

Savimbi 'Refuses' Comment on Future

AB2306094989 Dakar PANA in English 0936 GMT
23 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite, 23 June (AZAP/PANA)—The leader of the Angolan rebel movement, the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) Dr Jonas Savimbi, on Thursday [22 June] refused the comment on what he planned to do in the future.

Approached by the Zairean news agency to reveal his plans after the historic summit in Gbadolite on Thursday Savimbi only said "I am Angolan and I remain an Angolan."

He stated that he was not there to fight a war for the sake of fighting, adding that until now he had fought because of specific reasons. Even if these reasons were no longer existent, he would remain an Angolan citizen, he added.

Dos Santos, Savimbi Talks 'Cordial'

MB2306054389 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Delegations of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party met face to face for the first time on the eve of the Gbadolite summit at 2100 on 21 June 1989. The informal meeting, held at the palace of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, the founding president, took place in a cordial atmosphere and lasted for about an hour.

The UNITA delegation was led by Dr Jorge Valentim, information minister, and included Eng Elias Salupeto, economic planning minister; General Peregrino Wuambo, military intelligence chief; and Dr Jaka Jamba, minister of national education in the government of the free land of Angola.

The MPLA delegation was led by Lieutenant General Franca Ndalu, first vice minister of defense and chief of the General Staff of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, and included Dr Antonio Pitra Neto, director for state and judicial organs of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, and Colonel Antonio Jose Maria, secretary of the president for defense and security.

The UNITA and MPLA delegations at the Gbadolite summit discussed preliminary issues related to the prevailing situation in Angola. All accords will be based on the need to restore peace and reconciliation to the great Angolan family.

Cease-Fire Set To Begin 24 Jun

MB2306043289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0228 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite, Zaire June 23 SAPA—The Angolan Government and the UNITA rebel movement yesterday agreed to stop fighting on 24 June, ending a 14-year old civil strife, and work for the establishment of a government of national unity, the Zimbabwean news agency, ZIANA, quoting diplomatic sources, reported.

The sources said a four-point pact aimed at ending hostilities had been reached following a seven-hour meeting of 20 African leaders at which Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi met for the first time in 15 years at a negotiation table.

"This is a historical agreement which should usher in a new spirit of peace and hope in southern Africa and particularly in Angola. We all hope that it will work but much will depend on how it is implemented," ZIANA's source said.

The peace agreed plan agreed on but not announced at the summit includes:

- a ceasefire between the MPLA government and UNITA starting midnight 24 June;
- the recognition of President dos Santos as Angolan leader by UNITA;
- a two year term of self-imposed exile for Dr Savimbi;
- a commitment by the MPLA government to work for the formation of a government of national unity through a policy of national reconciliation, a comprehensive amnesty programme and the reintegration of UNITA members and all other Angolans, including the armed forces outside the present political system into the mainstream.
- supervision of the peace programme by a three-nation commission made up of the presidents of Zaire, Congo and Gabon.

Diplomatic sources said the peace agreement had not been announced at the summit, apparently to give both Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi time to brief their fellow officials.

Savimbi's presence at the summit was kept a secret until about three hours after the start of the meeting.

During that time the 20 African presidents were meeting separately while Dr Savimbi and his officials waited. He was consulted by President Mobutu who spent most of the time commuting between the two venues.

Dr Savimbi joined the presidents an hour before the end of the meeting and reportedly addressed the summit. He and Mr Dos Santos also "shook hands as compatriots".

Before today's meeting the MPLA government has refused to talk to Dr Savimbi directly although it initiated indirect contacts through Zaire.

ZIANA's sources said the Angolan president almost cancelled his trip to Zaire when he learnt that Dr Savimbi would be present but he was persuaded by other southern African leaders to attend. The six southern African Frontline States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe are expected to meet in August to discuss progress on the implementation of the Angolan peace plan.

The Gbadolite summit was attended by the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Mali, Morocco, Tanzania, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

Dos Santos 'Cautious' on Accord

*MB2306081889 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] Angolan Government officials have greeted news of a cease-fire with UNITA with surprise and some relief.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos signed the agreement with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi at a summit meeting in Gbadolite, in Zaire.

On his arrival back in Luanda, President dos Santos has been cautious about the historic accord. It's the first step, he said. The future will tell. He said his government is acting in good faith in trying to end the 14-year-old war with UNITA.

Yesterday evening, official Angolan radio didn't carry news of the accord, and senior government officials waiting for the president at Luanda airport listened to news of the agreement on foreign radio station or were told about it by foreign journalists. Many were surprised, especially at the handshake between Dos Santos and Savimbi after years of animosity between them.

Course of Talks, Agreement Assessed

*AB2306094389 Paris AFP in English 2320 GMT
22 Jun 89*

[By Jean-Pierre Rejete]

[Text] Gbadolite, Zaire, June 22 (AFP)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met and shook hands with UNITA rebel leader Jonas Savimbi here late Thursday in an historic peace and reconciliation meeting coupled with the announcement of a ceasefire in the country's long civil war.

An official Zairean statement issued shortly after the handshake announced that a ceasefire and an end to all hostilities in Angola would take effect at midnight local time Saturday, June 24. The event took place under the personal auspices of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The announcement, described as "the Gbadolite declaration", also spoke of the setting up of a "commission charged with fixing the modalities for implementation of a plan aimed at bringing about national reconciliation in Angola under the mediation of Marshal Mobutu

The meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, head of the guerrilla National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), was the first public top-level encounter between the two sides since the civil war began in Angola soon after independence in 1985.

It took place at a summit meeting of 18 African heads of state in Gbadolite hosted Thursday by Marshal Mobutu, whose birthplace the town is.

The handshake between the former enemies and the ceasefire announcement took place after several hours of "arduous" discussions following Mr. Savimbi's arrival in Gbadolite the same afternoon, Zairean diplomatic sources said.

In a speech closing the summit meeting, the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Mali's President Moussa Traore, described the encounter between Mr. Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi as having marked an "historic day."

"This fraternal handshake between Doctor Jonas Savimbi and President dos Santos symbolises the end of the civil war in Angola from June 24. A new era is going to open for this brother country, which will from now on devote itself to its economic and social development," General Traore said.

Initially envisaged to last only three hours, the closure of the summit meeting, largely devoted to the situation in Angola, was apparently delayed by a "last minute reluctance" on the part of the rebel leader.

According to sources close to the summit, Mr. Savimbi finally drew back from an original plan to quit his rebel headquarters at Jamba in southern Angola while awaiting the holding of free elections in the country within two years.

All of the Zaireans' powers of persuasion were apparently necessary to avoid the summit meeting resulting in total failure, according to these sources. Even then, the expected announcement that UNITA would soon be closely involved in managing the affairs of the Angolan state did not materialise.

But it is clear that the summit—attended by the heads of state of Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe, plus delegations from Ivory Coast, Morocco and Tanzania—has advanced the cause of reconciliation in Angola.

Observers doubted however that the outcome will have entirely satisfied the Zairean president, who is due to go to the United States for an official visit on June 28. He would have liked, the observers said, to have been able to present President George Bush with a more concrete proof of his mediation role.

UNITA, which until recently enjoyed political and material backing from South Africa in its fight against the government in Luanda, has also got military and political support from Washington.

Summit's Closing Detailed

*AB2306092289 Dakar PANA in French 0830 GMT
23 Jun 89*

[Text] Gbadolite, 23 Jun (AZAP/PANA)—A cease-fire will be observed throughout the Angolan territory from midnight on 24 June, OAU Chairman Moussa Traore, who is also the Malian head of state, announced at the end of the Gbadolite summit.

The summit, which ended yesterday evening (1815 GMT), was attended by 18 heads of state, the Tanzanian vice president, and the speaker of the Moroccan national assembly.

Jonas Savimbi was invited to join the meeting at 1730 GMT after the heads of state had thoroughly scrutinized—for 2 hours and 45 minutes—the mediation report presented by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

During the press conference which followed the meeting, President Moussa Traore stated that President dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi shook hands to mark the end of the civil war in Angola, as well as the

beginning of an era of peace devoted to the reconstruction and development of their country. It was with a common accord that the two parties pledged to begin negotiations aimed at achieving true national reconciliation, he added.

The OAU chairman paid tribute to Marshal Mobutu who made great diplomatic efforts to achieve this result. "The entire African Continent is grateful to him," the Malian head of state said.

All participants at the Gbadolite summit, including Jonas Savimbi, attended this press conference given jointly by Presidents Kaunda of Zambia and Moussa Traore.

For his part, the Zambian head of state paid a glowing tribute to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, who has rapidly brought to a successful end the mediation mission entrusted to him by the Luanda summit on 16 May. He emphasized that the two parties had accepted the principal motives of national reconciliation as had been defined during the Luanda summit.

"This is an important day for Africa," he affirmed. "This is a historic day which will be remembered by future generations," the OAU chairman added.

Marshal Mobutu has made an outstanding contribution to the restoration of peace in Angola, emphasized the Zambian head of state, who then appealed to the two sides, who yesterday were at war and who today are seeking reconciliation, to do everything to ensure that the benefits of the Gbadolite summit are preserved through the promotion of understanding and harmony among all the Angolan people.

Summit Statement Noted

*AB2306103289 Dakar PANA in French 0930 GMT
23 Jun 89*

[Text] Gbadolite, 23 Jun (AZAP/PANA)—The Gbadolite summit, which took place yesterday, to find ways and means of bringing peace back to Angola, ended on the same day with a common statement accepted by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as well as by Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA rebel movement opposed to the Luanda government.

The statement declared a cease-fire in Angola as of 24 June at midnight. A commission will be set up to work out conditions for the implementation of the plan for national reconciliation in Angola with the mediation of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko. The heads of state who met at Gbadolite agreed to meet soon in Zimbabwe to assess the results of the summit. Here are excerpts of the statement of Gbadolite:

1. At the invitation of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, founding chairman of the Popular Movement for the Revolution and president of the Republic of Zaire, a historical meeting took place in Gbadolite, Zaire on Thursday, 22 June 1989.

2. This meeting is part of efforts made by the president of the People's Republic of Angola and other African heads of state, notably the president of the People's Republic of Congo and the president of the Republic of Gabon, as well as decisions made at the Luanda summit on 16 May 1989 to hold a second meeting of consultation in the Republic of Zaire.

3. After the meeting, the heads of state present at the Gbadolite summit noted with great satisfaction and legitimate pride the great principles aimed at restoring peace and national reconciliation to Angola and favoring the Namibian independence process.

4. To this effect, on the basis of the peace plan presented by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, and the proposals made by the head of state of the Republic of Zaire in his mediation efforts, the following principles were agreed upon by all the Angolan brothers:

a) The desire of all sons and daughters of Angola to end the war and to proclaim national reconciliation before the whole world,

b) The cessation of all hostilities as well as the proclamation of a cease-fire to come into force at midnight on 24 June,

c) The establishment of a committee charged with drawing up the modalities for implementing this plan, which is aimed at achieving national reconciliation, under the mediation of the president of the Republic of Zaire.

5. The heads of state expressed satisfaction with the substantial and rapid progress made in the process for peace and national reconciliation in Angola, thanks to the desire of all sons and daughters of Angola to put an end to several years of civil war and to henceforth settle down to the task of developing their great nation.

6. To this effect, the heads of state congratulated and thanked [words indistinct] the exceptional efforts that have made possible the historic event of this day.

7. The heads of state expressed satisfaction with the friendly and fraternal atmosphere that prevailed throughout their meeting.

8. They also agreed to meet very soon in Zimbabwe to evaluate the results of the present meeting.

OAU's Traore Hails Zairian Mediation

AB2306111089 Dakar PANA in English 1013 GMT
23 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite, 23 June (AZAP/PANA)—Malian president and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman, Moussa Traore, has paid tribute to Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko for the diplomatic efforts he applied in bringing about a ceasefire agreement between the Angolan Government and the rebel UNITA movement.

Traore paid the tribute at a news conference Thursday night in Gbadolite, north-west Zaire, after a summit of 20 African leaders during which the ceasefire was agreed.

The leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, also took part in the meeting at the invitation of the leaders.

Traore, who jointly chaired the news conference with Zambian President and Frontline States Chairman Kenneth Kaunda, praised Mobutu for the speed with which he mediated between the Angolan Government and UNITA following a summit of eight southern and central African leaders in Luanda, the Angolan capital, on 16 May.

According to the OAU chairman, both the Angolan Government and UNITA have agreed to open up negotiations for the purpose of bringing about real national reconciliation.

Traore told newsmen that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi, whose movement has been fighting for 14 years to overthrow the Angolan Government, shook hands at Thursday's summit to signal an end to the war and the ushering in of a new era of peace, reconciliation and development in Angola.

The ceasefire agreement takes effect from midnight Friday [23 June].

The summit was attended by 18 presidents, as well as the vice president of Tanzania and the speaker of the Moroccan national assembly who represented their countries' leaders.

Opening the summit earlier Thursday, Mobutu had urged his counterparts to search for ways of installing durable peace in Angola through national reconciliation so that the people of Angola can live peacefully after so many years of war.

He said the leaders' presence in Gbadolite was a clear demonstration of the interest they had in the search for solutions to Angola's problems, as well as their faith in dialogue and consultations.

De Klerk's Talks with FRG's Kohl 'Positive'

*MB2206114889 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Text] The minister of national education and leader of the National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, says his talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany in Bonn this morning took place in a positive and constructive spirit. The two leaders met for about an hour in Mr Kohl's office.

Mr de Klerk said he had taken the opportunity to convey the government's vision on the future of South Africa to Mr Kohl. He said he told Mr Kohl that his vision of the future was based on building trust and consensus with a view to reform and a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa. Such a dispensation would be fair and had to provide equal opportunities for all population groups and had to provide for the full participation of all groups without domination of one group by another. He emphasized both his own and the government's commitment to reform and said that it would be applied at a tempo acceptable to everyone.

Replying to questions at an international news conference on Mr Kohl's approach at the discussions, Mr de Klerk said Mr Kohl had not attempted to put pressure on South Africa or to make any demands. Mr de Klerk said Mr Kohl was clearly well-informed about South Africa and appreciated the country's exceptional problems. Questioned about the release of ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk reaffirmed the government's view that Mandela could play a positive role in the future of South Africa.

Mr de Klerk is to have discussions this afternoon with the West German foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, before leaving for London for talks with the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Mr de Klerk emphasized that there was no hidden agenda in his talks with Mrs Thatcher.

Pik Botha Praises Angolan Cease-Fire Agreement

*MB2306094489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0943 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—The ceasefire in Angola would constitute a major formal step to achieving national reconciliation in the country, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha said today.

Responding to reports that the ceasefire had been reached at a summit in Gbadolite in Zaire, he said he was still awaiting details of the discussions. He said the South African Government had done everything possible to facilitate discussions about the conflict in Angola and acknowledged the important role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko in finding a solution for the region.

"If the reports of a ceasefire are correct, it would constitute a major formal step to achieving national reconciliation in Angola. Southern Africa requires peace in order that the leaders of the region give their urgent attention to a southern African development programme," he said.

Commentary Says MPLA, UNITA Must Negotiate

*MB2206192789 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 2 Jun 89*

[Text] Whatever else may be decided on the Angolan issue at the summit meeting of 12 African heads of state in Zaire, direct talks between the Luanda government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] cannot be avoided if peace is to come to Angola.

It is for this reason that the Angolan Government's apparently consistent refusal to negotiate with UNITA is most discouraging. On the eve of the Gbadolite summit meeting, Angola's foreign minister, Mr Alfonso van Dunem, once again rejected the possibility of negotiations between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA. He said that regardless of whether or not UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi took part in negotiations, the Angolan Government would not negotiate with UNITA, and was only prepared to grant an amnesty to any UNITA member who surrendered.

In contrast, Dr Savimbi was more realistic in his views expressed on the eve of the summit meeting. The meeting, he said, would fail in its attempt to end the Angolan civil war unless there were direct talks between the MPLA government and UNITA.

Dr Savimbi's argument and logic on the matter cannot be faulted. The inescapable fact is that the MPLA seized power in Luanda in 1975 in violation of an agreement that, together with the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA, it would form a transitional government pending national elections.

These are the historical facts of the matter and they cannot be wished away. In contrast to the MPLA, which unilaterally seized power for itself and has consistently refused to share that power, Dr Savimbi has made it clear that he is not seeking absolute power for himself. He has stated repeatedly that what he wants is for the 1974 Alvor agreement to be enacted, that a transitional government be formed between the MPLA, the FNLA, and UNITA until the people of Angola indicated at the ballot box whom they want as their leaders.

The civil war of the past 14 years has shown conclusively that neither the MPLA nor UNITA is capable of imposing a military victory on the other. The only logical alternative is for them to come to a peaceful settlement. Apart from anyone else who may be involved, the main parties at settlement talks have got to be the MPLA and UNITA.

Time To Move Internal Talks to 'Top Gear'
*MB2306052489 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] It is almost 5 years since unrest erupted in various parts of the country. Some South Africans became victims of the violence that was unleashed; many were caught up in the unrest; most were shocked by the necklace murders and other barbaric acts that threatened the very fiber of our society.

All South Africans faced the choice: Was the future of the country to be decided through revolution, the AK-47, and the limpet mine? Or through negotiation and discussion, through a meeting of the minds of moderate people?

The state of emergency was introduced as one means of countering revolutionary activity. This step was widely criticized, and few people wished to see it become a permanent institution. But, while it did not kill the revolutionary climate altogether, the state of emergency did create the necessary stability in which South Africans could take a considered look at their political future. They have done so in a number of opinion polls in the past year or 2.

The latest of these polls has been conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council. It shows that the majority of South Africans of all races support the path of negotiation in building a new South Africa. Amongst urban blacks, 14 percent see violence as the only means to achieve equal political rights. This figure will be viewed by many as high, but the other side of the coin is that more than 80 percent of urban blacks are in favor of nonviolent action in achieving political goals. Amongst whites, 72 percent are in favor of reform, and 70 percent favor talks with the strongest black leaders and organizations on a future dispensation.

Of particular significance in the latest poll is that all population groups, including black groups, do not see a viable and prosperous future under majority rule. The Human Sciences Research Council poll confirms the findings of previous polls that reveal an important trend in thinking amongst South Africans of all races. This trend is one for growing support for negotiation politics and for power sharing by all South Africans on a fair and equitable basis.

Opinion polls, in fact, reveal a growing change in attitudes, on both the intellectual and emotional level, towards a dispensation in which power will be shared by whites, coloreds, Asians, and blacks and which will be totally free of group domination. In summary, it can be said that various opinion polls show that the mood in South Africa today is against violence and revolution and is for negotiation and debate.

Authentic leaders, especially black leaders, should take note of this mood amongst the people. It is time to move the machine of negotiation into top gear.

Limpet Mine Explodes Outside Police Quarters
*MB2206104689 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1044 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—A mini limpet mine exploded outside the South African Police single quarters in KwaThema township in Springs this morning.

Police said the explosion was at about 6.50am near the outer wall of the building. Windows were shattered. Damage was minimal and no-one was injured.

Police 'Forcibly' Remove AWB Pool Protesters
*MB2206104289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1040 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—About 12 AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members were forcibly removed by the SAP [South African Police] from the entrance of the Hillbrow indoor swimming pool where they were volubly protesting the opening of facilities for all races.

There were about 25 AWB members blocking the entrance to the swimming pool, where members of the Democratic Party [DP] had agreed to "test the water" with a number of non-white residents of Hillbrow today.

Chanting "AWB" and waving the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] flag they refused to move from the entrance. A plain clothes policeman then radiod for uniformed back-up to remove them.

The offending members were put into the back of a SAP van.

Also present as a protester was Mr Gideon Pitout, secretary for Nationalist councillor, Mrs Desiree Simpson.

"I'm here to protest as a Hillbrow resident," he said.

"The DP are not considering the white voters of Hillbrow. They are agitating the people by swimming here."

Tony Leon, leader of the DP in the Johannesburg council, and about 12 other councillors as invited guests took a dip in the Hillbrow pool.

An Indian man, who would only identify himself as Haroun, plunged into the deep end of the pool and promptly gave off distress signals. An alert photographer from the newspaper, DIE TRANSVAALER, realised he was drowning and dived in to save him.

Laughter and jokes followed the rescue.

"So this is what happens when you swim in a whites-only pool," quipped the rescued man.

And on a more sober note: "I've never been given the opportunity to swim in any pool at all, which is why I can't swim."

Mr Tony Leon pointed out that buses and recreation centres, but not swimming pools, had been opened to all.

"What has happened here today should be allowed to happen on a daily basis in all swimming pools in Johannesburg," he said.

Commentary Welcomes Natal Peace Agreement

EA2206182089 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Commentary: "The Agreements Between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha Are Significant"]

[Excerpt:] Compatriots, the result of the meeting between the mass democratic movements represented by the UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the Inkatha organization earlier this week can be described as not only historic, but truly important and significant for the struggle of the oppressed people in our country against white minority rule. This meeting should be hailed for having without any equivocation singled out the apartheid regime as the cause of the conflict, and having put it to all our people without any hesitation that this endless carnage which has been going on in our country has benefited the apartheid regime immensely while preventing us, the oppressed, from uniting against our common enemy. It should be seen as the foresightedness of those who are deliberating. Yet again they have stressed the need for the unity of all the oppressed in our country. Once more they are (?affirming) for all our people that whatever differences we might have (?seen), we have literally no reason for engaging in the type of fratricidal fight which has been witnessed in the Natal Province.

It can be said without any hesitation that efforts achieving peace in Natal have been put on a sound basis. From now onwards, it should be expected that from here, all the oppressed will contribute towards the realization of this end to the carnage and the unity of all the oppressed against their common enemy, the apartheid regime. After having reached these agreements, which clearly called for the end of the fratricidal strife, these organizations are to be expected to enroll all their members in the translation of these agreements into life.

Communities themselves should be involved, inasmuch as their organizations are involved, to see to it that what was the first step, a right step, does not end up merely as words written on a piece of paper.

A special tribute has been paid to the religious community, which has throughout these efforts played a vital role, publicly articulating the need for us to resolve this ugly situation through dialogue. Indeed, there were moments of difficulties, as we all know, before the first meeting, and many obstacles had to be surmounted, and it is in the surmounting of these difficulties [word indistinct] to the first meeting that the church played a role which should be the example to all organizations which call themselves the organizations of the people. All democrats, all peace-loving people, and all patriots who value the unity of their [word indistinct] in this struggle against our common enemy, must surely compliment this action of the church by themselves doing everything in their power in disseminating and publicizing this agreement to reach all locations, all villages and communities in Natal.

All of us have to exercise maximum vigilance, to (?thwart) all efforts which will surely be made to (?derail) this effort at finding a lasting solution to the country. Represented by the mass democratic organizations and by Inkatha, the people have clearly stated their desire to achieve peace in Natal. More than that, the people have clearly singled out the Pretoria regime as the sole benefiter of this ugly situation. It is clear that on the part of the people, no matter from which side there might be (?threat) to, there is no one who is still bent on perpetuating this problem, which has already claimed so many lives.

Dear compatriots, the enemy of unity of the oppressed, the apartheid regime, has [words indistinct] all the reason of doing everything within its power, that these divisions on the part of the people continue, as this strategy of divide and rule is fundamental in the designs of the apartheid system. All of us cannot expect the Pretoria regime to just fold its arms at this prospect of being isolated and clearly being perceived the enemy of all the oppressed in our country. Instead, we must all expect that this regime will do everything within its power to sabotage the peace efforts and to ensure that the energies of our people are wasted in this fratricidal strife, rather than used in the fight against this (?policy). That is why the need for vigilance on the part of all your [word indistinct] cannot be overestimated. More than vigilance, the situation calls on everyone of us to be part of this effort of finding peace. The situation demands that we combine all our efforts at ensuring that the process towards peace in Natal becomes irreversible. [passage omitted]

NP Transvaal Election Candidates Named

MB2006101189 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1002 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 20 SAPA—The National Party [NP] of the Transvaal has released the names of its candidates in 70 of the province's 76 constituencies.

Parktown, Yeoville and Sandton are "still under consideration", while in Randfontein, Pretoria West and Stilfontein votes agree to take place within the NP on June 26 to finalise the candidates, the NP Transvaal head office said in a statement today.

The full list of finalised NP candidates is:

Alberton—A.J.G. Oosthuizen (member of the President's Council).
Barberton—J. de Villiers (farmer).
Benoni—J.J. Lemmer (MP).
Bethal—G.S. Gouws (chairman of the RSC [Regional Services Council]).
Bezuidenhout—S.G. Bloomberg (MP).
Boksburg—J.P.I. Blanche (MP).
Brakpan—N.W. Labuschagne (businessman).
Brentwood—G.B.L. Geldenhuys (MP).
Brits—J.A. Jonker (attorney).
Bryanston—A. Routier (member of the President's Council).
Carletonville—D.J.L. Nel (business consultant).
Delmas—H.B. Senekal (town clerk).
Edenvale—J.E.I. Hunter (MP).
Ermelo—J. de Clerq (farmer).
Florida—B.J. du Plessis (MP).
Geduld—S.J. de Beer (MP).
Germiston—D. Christophers (MP).
Germiston District—J.F. Bosman (MP).
Gezina—K.D. Swanepoel (MP).
Helderkruijn—C.J. van der Merwe (MP).
Hercules—B.C. Bester (youth secretary).
Hillbrow—A.J. Wasserman (businessman).
Houghton—S. Peer (company director).
Innesdal—E.H. Venter (MP).
Jeppe—H.J. Bekker (MP).
Johannesburg North—L. Poorter (member of the President's Council).
Johannesburg West—R.P. Meyer (MP).
Kempton Park—T.J. King (MP).
Klerksdorp—A.A. Venter (MP).
Koedoespoort—T.A.P. Kruger (MP).
Krugersdorp—L. Wessels (MP).
Langlaagte—J.J. Vilonel (MP).
Lichtenburg—J.N. Burger (chartered accountant).
Losberg—A. van Zyl Brink (electrical engineer).
Lydenburg—B. Lategan (member of the President's Council).
Maraisburg—P.H. Pretorius (MP).
Meyerton—A.J.J. Snyman (businessman).
Middelburg—D.P. du Plessis (agricultural economist).
Modderfontein—M.A. de M. Malan (MP).
Nelspruit—P.L. Mare (MP).
Nigel—C.M. Williamson (member of the President's Council).
North Rand—A.C.A.C. Grobler (MP).
Overvaal—S.E. Steyn (pharmacist).
Pietersburg—N. van R. van Oudtshoorn (dentist).
Potchesfstrom—L. le Grange (MP).
Potgietersrus—H. Pretorius (farmer).
Pretoria East—T.G. Alant (MP).
Pretoria Central—G.C. Oosthuizen (MP).
Primrose—P.J. Welgemoed (MP).
Randburg—G. Babb (diplomat).
Rissik—C.L. Fisser (MP).
Roodeplaat—P.G.W. Grobler (MP).
Roodepoort—L. Smith (consultant).
Rosettenville—S.M. Camerer (MP).

Rustenburg—M.H. Veldman (MP).
Schweizer-Reneke—H.M. van Zyl (retired education inspector).
Soutpansberg—V.J. Borchers (company director).
Springs—P.W. Coetzer (MP).
Standerton—W.J. Hefer (member of the President's Council).
Sunnyside—S.J. Schoeman (MP).
Turffontein—A. Fourie (MP).
Vanderbijlpark—G. van N. Viljoen (MP).
Ventersdorp—I.D. van Zyl (farmer).
Vereeniging—T. Gunning (political organiser).
Verwoerdburg—A.J. Vlok (MP).
Waterberg—Z.F. van der Merve (farmer).
Waterkloof—G. Marais (MP).
Westdene—R.F. Botha (MP).
Witbank—P.P. Broodryk (chairman of the highveld RSC).
Wonderboom—S.G.A. Golden (MP).

21 Jun Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB2106111589

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

NP Needs President's 'Full Support' on Elections—"We are sorry that the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, will no longer be honoured at a banquet which had been arranged by the National Party to say farewell to him," states a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 21 June. "No reason has been given, but it is reasonable to assume that Mr Botha did not wish to attend. It is sad then," THE CITIZEN points out, that "it was his own decision to split the office of State President and party leadership that created the controversy which caused so much tension and unhappiness. Yet in the rumpus that followed, his successor as party leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk, acted at all times with consideration and concern for him." "Unfortunately, it does not appear as if Mr de Klerk's election as party leader received the acceptance from Tuynhuys [the presidential office building] that it should have." "Although the State President distanced himself from the party, he could still help to create a climate that would assist it in its election battle. The best way to do that would be by showing he not only believed in the party, but in the man who is his successor. He should therefore have publicly given Mr de Klerk his full support." THE CITIZEN notes De Klerk's upcoming "vital mission" to Europe, saying that Botha "knows how difficult such talks are" and that "overseas reports" suggesting "Botha did not deliver on his promises" of reform are "a lie." "It is on the foundations of the reforms that he himself laid that Mr de Klerk will build." "Both Mr de Klerk and the party need Mr Botha's backing, especially as he set reform in motion and must want it to continue. We are sorry that Mr Botha seems no longer on good terms with the party. We are sorry, too, that he appears to be brooding in Tuynhuys about the slights, real or imagined, that he believes

he has suffered." "The party he once led is girding itself for its toughest election battle, and he, above all other people, should wish it well and give it his full support."

THE STAR

Natal 'Conflict' Discourages 'Justifying' Violence—A page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 21 June reads: "That there are talks at last between representatives of the warring Inkatha and UDF-COSATU [United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions] factions in Natal is to be welcomed. So is the easing of restrictions on Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Azhar Cachalia, both key people in the peace negotiations. But if the two sides are going to continue using the situation to take political advantage, and to back their positions with violence, the struggle for peace will be lost. Political violence, as Belfast, Lebanon and Eritrea have shown, and as Natal is showing now, is a cancer that feeds off the meanest fare. Unchecked, it spreads so quickly that in no time the original cause has become lost in a maze of new issues and grievances which make it almost impossible to get to the root of the problem. The original cause of the strife in Natal was community pressure on scarce facilities. When Inkatha and the UDF-COSATU grouping got involved, however, it was given the status of a political war. Now 1,900 people are estimated to have died since 1987 in a conflict that is ranging over a wide spectrum of issues and is spreading far beyond the boundaries of Maritzburg. This conflict is a graphic warning to the country: justifying political violence, for whatever reason, is one of the most dangerous tendencies in South Africa today."

BUSINESS DAY

Renamo Relationship Proves 'Albatross' Around Nation's Neck—A page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 21 June reads: "South Africa's relationship with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], fostered during a period of military hubris by the SADF [South African Defense Forces] and some dubious allies like then-deputy foreign minister Louis Nel, has become an albatross around this country's neck. The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, puts it more delicately when he says Mozambique has become a 'test of South Africa's credibility.' Van Heerden observes, somewhat piously, that our own history and beliefs do not permit us to be identified with 'destabilisation' but the unfortunate truth is that, since the discovery of the Renamo diaries that detailed surreptitious SADF aid, we are identified with Renamo. Indeed, the belief that South Africa is responsible at least in part for the atrocities and miseries inflicted by Renamo is by now so deeply rooted that, in Van Heerden's view, it will not serve to maintain a proper neutrality towards the internal conflict in Mozambique. If we are not perceived to be actively engaged in the search for a Mozambican peace, we will be viewed as giving tacit consent to the turmoil and strife, says Van Heerden. That puts this country in the awkward position of being

coresponsible for a problem that may well be indefinitely insoluble. It is the price we pay for letting military amateurs into our foreign affairs."

SOWETAN

Youth Idea of Democracy Causes 'Incalculable Harm'—"Monday's [19 June] meeting between Inkatha and the UDF/COSATU alliance is the first ray of hope in the bloody conflict between supporters of these two groups over the past 20 years," observes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 21 June. "We laud the two groups for reaffirming that the right of people to belong to organisations of their choice is one of the foundations of democracy. We are sure that if this agreement is adhered to then the people of Maritzburg and beyond will see the end of their problems. It is in this spirit that we denounce the gangs of youths who disrupted services at Regina Mundi and other parts of the country on 16 June. It appears that for some of our youth democracy means agreeing with what they say. Other people are not allowed to believe ideologies of their choice. These young people do not know the incalculable harm they are doing to the cause of democracy in South Africa."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk Pays 'Lip Service' to Change, Destroys Democracy—A page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 19 June reads: "Dr Zach de Beer's question last week to Mr F.W. de Klerk was fair: does the new NP [National Party] leader propose a vote of equal value for every adult South African or not? It might also be asked whether Mr de Klerk imagines that black South Africa will settle for anything less. It is not enough for Mr de Klerk to go around the country soothingly promising a 'totally changed South Africa.' The voters are entitled to expect something rather more specific. This country cannot continue for much longer to evade the question of black rights. It is accepted that the negotiation of a settlement of any value or permanence is not the work of a day. Yet a start must be made. Substantive negotiations cannot be longer postponed. Startling statistics quoted by Mr Jan Steyn of the Urban Foundation in New York last week give some idea why this is so. Within 10 or 11 years from now 85 per cent of the population of the main urban areas—Cape Town, Durban, and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area—will be black. Both cities [as published] are rapidly and visibly changing their character. There is a movement of educated blacks into semi-skilled, skilled and technological sectors of commerce and industry, as also into management, with a corresponding increase in black influence and authority. Anyone who imagines that blacks are going to settle for second class rights is deluded. Long before the year 2000 their economic clout in the labour market will have put them in a position to insist on political equality. If whites have the wisdom to negotiate now—from a position of strength—the new South Africa could take shape in an evolutionary manner as a free and open society, with an entrenched bill of

rights to guarantee all citizens their rights and security. Will Mr de Klerk answer the question? As things stand he is paying lip service to change while continuing Botha-style repression, crushing legitimate dissent, censoring the press, by-passing the courts and destroying what is left of South African democracy."

Vlok Shows 'Commendable Flexibility' on Gumede Ruling—A second editorial on the same page reads: "The decision by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to modify the restriction order on Mr Archie Gumede is to be welcomed. When the emergency was re-imposed recently Mr Vlok angered people in the trade union movement and in church circles by serving a new batch of restrictions on Mr Gumede, a key UDF leader, which included a provision confining him to his Clermont home near Pinetown. This would have had the effect of excluding Mr Gumede from the peace talks between COSATU/UDF and Inkatha which he had helped to set up. Mr Vlok, in acting thus, laid himself open to charges that he was bent on subverting moves towards peace in Natal. However he has now shown commendable flexibility in easing the curbs placed on Mr Gumede—following representations from Archbishop Tutu. Many of Mr Vlok's predecessors would not have listened to leaders like Archbishop Tutu, let alone have changed their minds following input from such quarters. How carefully did the authorities consider Mr Gumede's particular case before deciding to place such crippling restrictions on a key player in the search for peace? And how diligently, it may be asked, did Mr Vlok apply his mind in restricting other extra-parliamentary leaders?"

TRANSVALER

De Klerk Must Convince Thatcher on Reform—"Minister de Klerk's visit abroad this week is more than a pioneering tour and making acquaintances. It's a date with the future. Great demands will be made upon him," forecasts a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 19 June. "Margaret Thatcher will seek substance to Mr de Klerk's stated vision of constitutional change, and there will be questions about Nelson Mandela." "If (the visit) lays the basis for better understanding and insight, and Mr de Klerk convinces Mrs Thatcher and others of his plans for the future, the visit will be successful."

Treurnicht Avoids Terreblanche Political 'Blackmail'—A second editorial on the same page addresses the relationship between Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement-AWB) leader Eugene Terreblanche, saying: "Dr Andries Treurnicht made the right decision by resisting blackmail by the man to whom he had been protector for a considerable time. The CP leader can now improve his political credibility by showing the door to his one or two MPs (unnamed) who are also members of the (AWB)."

DIE BURGER

Terreblanche Decision To Contest Elections 'Impudent'—"The AWB leader exposed the political opportunism of the far right with the impudent decision to contest the general election," asserts a page 8 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 19 June. "CP leader Dr A.P. Treurnicht is apparently deeply unhappy about Mr Eugene Terreblanche's move, saying he violated an undertaking that the AWB would not participate in party politics. But, in a television debate last year with Minister F.W. de Klerk, he said: 'I defend the right of an organization to resist the wicked direction you have taken.'"

Disunity Forecasts Greater Democratic Party Tension—DIE BURGER says in another editorial on the same page: "The continuing disunity in the Democratic Party on the issue of candidates for the other two houses of Parliament is but one of the indications that underneath all the bravado and tinsel there are forces at work that will create even greater tension in the party in the future."

BEELD

Exclusion From Kinshasa Talks 'No Great Surprise'—"South Africans, as good Africans, ought to note with mixed feelings the plans of about 10 African states to meet in Zaire this week for talks on Angola's future," opines a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 20 June. "On one hand, it is good news that the prospect of peace in yet another southern African state has improved; on the other hand, it is an area in which South Africa has sacrificed blood and sweat trying to bring about a more democratic dispensation but is now being excluded, being left out of considerations for its future. Few other countries have more experience of the injustice of international politics than South Africa. Its absence from Kinshasa is, therefore, no great surprise even though this country has a greater interest in the talks than Gabon, Guinea Bissau, or Cape Verde." "The greatest stumbling block to greater recognition in Africa is South Africa's domestic problems. Nevertheless, African leaders ought to realize that their indifference will not contribute toward the solution. The opposite is true."

DIE REPUBLIKEIN

Namibians Want To Know SWAPO Detainees' Fate—"SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leaders who returned yesterday have, in a manner of speaking, returned to a different country from the one they left 20 or more years ago," notes a page 4 editorial in Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 19 June. "Security measures at the airport were introduced for their benefit." "If there was a source of disappointment, then it was the poor reception by SWAPO supporters." "But, these supporters have also been exposed to disappointment." "Even in the intensifying campaign period leading up to the elections, the SWAPO leaders could not keep to a schedule announced to their supporters." "The return of the SWAPO leaders has another meaning for Namibians."

In the past, one had to travel vast distances in a vain attempt to get information about detainees in so-called penal camps. Hage Geingob and his colleagues can now tell us what happened to the people who were abducted inside Namibia and who disappeared outside the country. Mr Geingob should not use evasive tactics like he did last night. Being high up in the SWAPO hierarchy, he should be able to provide this basic information. The people of Namibia want to know."

Press Review for 22 Jun

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[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

NP Must Pull Together, Determine Policy—"It is just as well that the National Party's [NP] Federal Congress is going to last one day," believes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 22 June. "We say just as well because there has not been the clarity on policy that the party needs to have, nor has there been the necessary cohesion that has marked the party's election efforts in the past. We grant there is a danger of an election campaign peaking too soon." THE CITIZEN says "special circumstances," including the Conservative Party's [CP] "building on the success it achieved in the municipal elections," show "why the NP cannot sit on its hands at this point, smugly assuming that there is lots of time in which to convince voters they should vote for it." "The CP's fear campaign, with its swart gevaar [black threat] connotations, is in full flight already. The NP can only counter it effectively by showing that it has a vision of the future that, far from endangering Whites, will ensure that the South Africa of tomorrow, shared by all, will be one of peace and progress and one in which all minorities, including the Whites, will be safe. That requires a clear exposition of NP policy, without any hedging, without any ambiguities." THE CITIZEN claims that, although it is plagued by the "problem" of multiple leaders, "the Democratic Party [DP] has been able to grab the limelight" with a campaign that "establishes its image as a new and thrusting party." "The point simply is that the CP and DP are on the move, the NP has hardly begun. After the Federal Congress next week, the NP will have no excuse for continuing its low-key, almost lackadaisical approach. It must get itself together quickly, determine its policy, and get stuck in, for the elections is going to be one of the toughest it has yet fought—it will be under attack from both Left-wing and Right-wing parties out to force a hung Parliament or oust it from power."

THE STAR

End Renamo Fight, Instill 'Hope of Prosperity'—"Each new revelation of the horrors that are being enacted across the road in Mozambique sharpens the anguish of the question: how can the wholesale slavery and slaughter be stopped?" asks a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg

THE STAR in English on 22 June. THE STAR feels "there is unlikely to be a military solution to the conflict between the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels. Yet a negotiated solution appears equally improbable as matters stand at present—and the tragedy of this is emphasised by the progress being made on the other side of the sub-continent, towards independence for Namibia and reconciliation in Angola. Heartening as the Frelimo government's new economic reforms are, the harsh fact remains that there can be no major development in Mozambique and no hope of prosperity until fighting ends. The outside world, including South Africa, might do more to help bring about a non-violent solution, for peace is beyond the grasp of Mozambicans despite tentative attempts at mediation by the church. One of the difficulties, as the Maputo government has pointed out, is the vague shape of its opposition. How can it negotiate with an organisation which has such vague structure, ill-defined policies and tenuous leadership? Even if a political solution were to be achieved this would not necessarily mean the end of the violence, for much of it undoubtedly is due to mindless banditry which is beyond the reach of negotiation and outside political influence, including the influence of foreign suppliers. Yet the banditry cannot be tackled until political settlement has been reached. A settlement might at least separate the guerrillas from the bandits and isolate a monstrous enemy. This might even be achieved, as a preliminary objective, merely by arranging a ceasefire. If Renamo is not interested in separating itself from banditry it invites being hunted down as a mad killer."

P.W. Botha Proves 'Party Pooper'—A second editorial on the same page, headlined "Party Pooper," reads: "Some people may find it difficult to know why it is so important that the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, must actually be present at the (now cancelled) banquet in Pretoria at which the NP was planning to celebrate his departure from politics. Mr Botha refused to attend for reasons which the NP press is, daily, cranking out with a morbidly fascinating enthusiasm. One suspects lots and lots of people will be celebrating Mr Botha's political departure—most of them quietly in their own homes. And, one imagines, the last person they would want to join them would be the old warrior himself."

CAPE TIMES

De Beer Right To Note ANC 'Part of South African Future'—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 20 June in a page 8 editorial praises DP leader Zach de Beer's "impressive" answers during an 18 June South African Broadcasting Corporation [SABC] television interview with reporter Johan Pretorius, saying De Beer gave "an urbane exposition of Democratic Party policies in response to an SABC inquisition of remarkable ineptitude." CAPE TIMES sees Pretorius as "over-zealous" and "out of touch," particularly on DP security policy questions. "The ANC [African National Congress],

which enjoys significant support, will certainly be part of the South African future. Dr de Beer is right to say so out loud, demonstrating rather more candour than Mr de Klerk. At the same time Dr de Beer makes it clear that the DP is opposed to the ANC's so-called 'armed struggle' and would bring the full force of the law to bear if the ANC persisted in violence. All this is clear enough. So can we now get on with the pressing issue, which is the stagnating South African economy and the related evils of corruption and a bloated bureaucracy?"

TRANSVALER

Democratic Party Reasoning on ANC 'Naive'—"In his television interview on Sunday [18 June] night, Dr Zach de Beer partly clarified some aspects of the Democratic Party's patchwork policy," says a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 20 June. "The first is that the DP's view of a future constitutional dispensation hovers on the border of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state. If Dr de Beer does not accept such a deduction, he and his coleaders must spell out how they plan to accomodate the political aspirations of the ANC and the South African Communist Party." "Dr de Beer and his party are just being daring and are treating national security lightly if they plan to pull a radical group with a record like the ANC into the political system without guarantees." "If he says he does not agree with actions like those of the ANC but his party, nevertheless, wants to give that organization free rein, then his reasoning is rather naive."

SWAPO Must Live Up To Promises—A second editorial on the same page declares: "One would dearly like to accept without reservation the good intentions toward all in South-West Africa/Namibia as expressed by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] Politburo member Hage Geingob on his return to Windhoek. Mr Geingob specifically called on the territory's whites 'to stay on and live with us in a free, independent Namibia'. As for a one-party state, he first said it would come about if voters so decided, but added that his organization was not there to create such a state." "SWAPO must now follow its words with deeds."

DIE REPUBLIKEIN

SWAPO Admission on Attack Further Damages Credibility—"With the admission in a Namibia NACHRICHTEN interview that SWAPO's 1 April incursion was not a mistake but had in fact been planned weeks earlier, the organization has once again destroyed its own credibility," states a page 4 editorial in Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 20 June. "SWAPO is now admitting that it was totally dishonest with the international community. While the world was doing its utmost to create a state of peace for a democratic election, that organization was secretly planning to neutralize that international effort." "Can one imagine greater infamy?"

Namibia

DTA Fears SWAPO Pullout From Peace Process

MB2206064789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0559 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Cape Town June 22 SAPA—The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) has expressed fears that SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] may pull out of the independence process. DTA Chairman Mr Dirk Mudge said yesterday on his return from a trip to West Germany that the DTA feared SWAPO would call on the UN secretary-general to scrap the November poll if the nationalist organisation did not achieve a two-thirds majority.

The DTA expected free and fair elections and having accepted that UN Resolution 435 was finally being implemented, the DTA would fight the elections with all its means, Mr Mudge said at a seminar hosted by the SA [South African] Institute of International Affairs.

"We are optimistic we will get enough votes to play a prominent role in the future," he said.

If the DTA lost the poll, the party would have an important responsibility to "tame, control, discipline and oppose SWAPO when they make mistakes," Mr Mudge said.

Mudge Urges RSA Noninterference

MB2206091889 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0911 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Cape Town June 22 SAPA—South Africa [RSA] should not interfere in the Namibian election scheduled for November 1, the chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, said today.

He told a press conference here that the DTA would not interfere in the South African election and SA should "for God's sake" not interfere in what was happening in Namibia.

"We are not going to fight against the Conservative Party, and we want South Africans to stop fighting against SWAPO," he said. "I don't want me and Mr Pik Botha to be seen as fighting on the same side against a common enemy. It's our problem and our election."

Mr Mudge said it seemed that the South African Government was trying to prepare its electorate for a possible SWAPO win.

It was doing this, he said, because it thought there might be a "Rhodesian experience" in the territory.

And if he understood the South African press correctly, they wanted a SWAPO government in Namibia.

He wanted to sound a warning that all SWAPO's talk about democracy was window-dressing and that if it came to power, a one-party state would follow.

He also had no doubt that Namibia would go the "Angolan way" economically if SWAPO took over.

Mr Mudge said it was because the DTA was concerned about the future economic situation that he and the senior DTA vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo had just visited West Germany and Austria.

They had had some "interesting" talks with the foreign ministers of those two countries.

One of Namibia's major problems—and one that it had created itself—was that it had an overdeveloped infrastructure, which was very expensive to maintain.

While the German and other governments might give development and other aid through the financing of projects, rather than the budgetary aid which South Africa had been doing, he had got the impression that the Germans would also be prepared to give aid for infrastructural maintenance.

Mr Muyongo told the press conference that the National Party [NP] of South-West Africa had been making appeals to its "godfather" in South African, but the DTA would not allow anyone, whether the NP of South-West Africa, the SA Government or SWAPO to derail the independence process.

SWAPO was now saying that if it had the chance it would renegotiate Resolution 435. It was however too late for that.

"We must see it through to the end ... they must be told in very clear terms that it is too late for them."

Mr Muyongo said the DTA wanted AG [administration general] 8, which he said was a racially discriminatory proclamation which in effect created "own affairs" administrations for ethnic groups in Namibia, to be scrapped as soon as possible.

"It will not even last two minutes if we win an election," he said. "It is creating a lot of problems, trying to divide our country into a lot of small bantustans. We want a united Namibia."

Mr Mudge said there had been warnings that if SWAPO realised it was not going to get a clear two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly it would look for ways of backtracking.

There had been more and more signs of this, including an increasing number of petty complaints from SWAPO.

Referring to news reports that it was because of SA's role in the Namibian settlement that Mr F.W. de Klerk was now being received in Europe, he said he did not believe SA was ever concerned about Namibia, which had been "the ball".

SA had been concerned only about its own interests—winning the game, and he did not blame the Republic for that.

"So we are on our own, as far as we are concerned. We want to be players ourselves from now on, not the ball."

Mr Mudge said that while in Germany he had received an invitation to visit the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Andreas Shipanga on 1 Apr Incursion's Impact

MB2106172689 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Interview with Andreas Shipanga, leader of SWAPO-Democratic Party, by Vernon Murphy; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] A founder member of the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, Mr Andreas Shipanga, says free and fair elections for the independence of Namibia was never part of SWAPO's planning.

Mr Shipanga, who played a prominent leadership role in SWAPO for many years before being jailed in Tanzania following a difference of opinion with Mr Sam Nujoma, now leads the breakaway SWAPO-Democratic Party. He is a staunch supporter of a peaceful transition to a democratic dispensation. He speaks to Vernon Murphy:

[Murphy] Mr Shipanga says throughout his many years as a leader in the ranks of SWAPO, Mr Sam Nujoma was dogmatic that power would be seized. The acceptance of Resolution 435 by South Africa caught the organization totally unprepared. To save face and gain time for replanning, the 1 April incursion was mounted. But that also backfired in more ways than one. Internationally it caused an embarrassing stink for SWAPO, and internally the myth of the heroic PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] army was exploded by their bloody defeat at the hands of security forces. Mr Shipanga elaborates on how he sees the current situation.

[Shipanga] Let me say that important thing is that our people who are in exile are now coming back—those who would be allowed by SWAPO to come back. Because I am very sure on that score that thousands and thousands will not be allowed to come back. They will remain in exile. Well, but the next 4 months will tell if the people are not allowed to come back. I am talking about the ordinary refugees.

The second thing is the political prisoners. All of sudden they were seen and all of a sudden they disappeared. That is a very serious matter. This process, there were many attempts, and I must say on the part of SWAPO, to detail this thing including the 1 April (?incursion). We only hope, that is, now all the parties in this country

must be sure that the process must run to its logical conclusion on 1 November, and then people will decide which party they want to vote for, hopefully freely, without any intimidation.

The country is, as far as I can see, expecting something, and of course people want to expect good things, not bad things, and I hope the politicians who are running in this election will make sure that that baby would be healthy and good-looking, not crippled.

[Murphy] Mr Shipanga, you mentioned 1 April. Are there some different schools of thought on 1 April? Some say that it damaged SWAPO's image as it is; others say that it had in fact enhanced the image as a strong man. You [words indistinct] and also I know that you were in contact with so many guerrillas that were captured. Can you also briefly tell us what they told you?

[Shipanga] Let me just say this: I am astonished to find some journalists, white journalists, who write and say that the slaughter of PLAN members has enhanced the image of SWAPO. I think SWAPO leaders themselves they are on record of saying it. Top executives, Ben Guriab is one and Anton Lubowski is another. They [words indistinct] the disastrous decision of sending these people to their certain death.

Ahtisaari Cites Continuing Police 'Intimidation'

MB2206130589 Johannesburg SABA in English 1208 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Windhoek, June 22, SABA—Reports of unprofessional conduct by elements of the SWA [South-West African] Police [SWAPOL] in northern Namibia were still being received, the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, said in Windhoek today.

"I have on several occasions over more than the last six weeks expressed my deepening concern over intimidation in the north of Namibia, and the many assaults that have made against the people, often seemingly on political grounds," he told a media briefing.

In consequence, the number of UN police monitors had been substantially increased in northern Namibia, while the UN Security Council had agreed to double the number of UN police from 500 to 1,000. The second police contingent would begin to arrive in Namibia within the next 48 hours.

"I am determined that the situation in the north of this country will again become one in which Namibians can live in peace and without fear," Mr Ahtisaari said. He was presently studying a reply from the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, to a letter concerning the presence of a police paramilitary counter-insurgency members in the regular constabulary. The unit, generally called Koevoet [Crowbar], had been disbanded and integrated in the SWA Police, Mr Pienaar said.

Mr Ahtisaari said he profoundly regretted that his letter to Mr Pienaar earlier this month on police activities in northern Namibia had been leaked to the press in New York on Tuesday [20 June] night.

"It is almost always counter-productive to proceed in such a way when one is dealing with such a deep and long-established problem in the north of this country," he said.

"And, one must always remember, there has been a long and often savage war there."

Unfortunately, he was continuing to receive reports this week "of unprofessional conduct by some elements of SWAPOL in the north."

Mr Ahtisaari would be travelling to the northern region next week to assess the situation there and report to the UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The UN settlement plan in Namibia provides that Mr Ahtisaari may identify policemen whose conduct render them unfit for further service.

"I have to be satisfied that conditions exist in which free and fair elections can take place."

Mr Pienaar yesterday rejected the possibility of dismissing men from the SWA Police simply because they previously fought in Koevoet units. But, Mr Pienaar said, he would take action against the continued presence of individual members whose conduct had been proven to be inappropriate.

Mr Ahtisaari said today there was now recognition by both his office and that of Mr Pienaar that there was a problem situation in northern Namibia that needed to be addressed.

On his visit to northern Namibia next week, Mr Ahtisaari would establish whether police Casspir armoured vehicles were used for restricted purposes on landmine-risk roads only, whether machineguns had been removed from the Casspirs and whether the situation in the region had generally improved.

Mr Ahtisaari said the 195 UN policemen in Ovambo had obtained rented Casspirs which would facilitate their monitoring tasks of SWA Police patrols.

UN Official Reports on Refugees, Police Behavior
MB2106132789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1219 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Windhoek, June 21, SAPA—A total of 5,621 Namibian refugees were repatriated in the first nine days of the United Nations programme, a UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhard, of the United States, said in Windhoek today.

The UN aims to bring home 41,000 Namibian refugees from neighbouring countries and abroad over six weeks.

Mr Eckhard told a media briefing 130 more police monitors of the UN [United Nations] were due to arrive this Saturday [24 June].

The UN already has 500 police monitors in Namibia but the world body decided to double the figure to be effective.

He said an informal impartiality group met earlier today to discuss alleged intimidation of civilians by SWA [South-Western Africa] Police, political activities by government officials and impartial reporting by the SWABC [South-West African Broadcasting Corporation]. The working group, which has no decision-making powers, was formed by representatives of the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, to liaise on problem areas in the application of the settlement plan in Namibia.

Mr Eckhard said about 200 UN civilian electoral officials were due to arrive in Namibia this weekend. They are to oversee the registration of voters and the elections, to be held in the first week of November.

Mr Eckhard said an independent jurist, Prof Carl Norgaard, of Denmark, had submitted a report to Mr Ahtisaari concerning some 30 political prisoners held by the South African administration in Namibia. Prof Norgaard's report was now under consideration.

Asked about alleged intimidation by police counter-insurgency unit members (generally called Koevoet [Crowbar]), Mr Eckhard said the UN settlement plan required police to conduct themselves in a manner that would not compromise the objective of holding free and fair elections. He declined to elaborate.

UN Spokesman Reports SADF Troop Reductions
MB2206123289 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1227 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Windhoek, June 22, SAPA—The South African Defence Force [SADF] had reduced its number of forces in Namibia to 2,213 troops and 631 air force personnel by Tuesday [20 June] this week, a senior United Nations spokesman, Mr Cedric Thornberry, said in Windhoek today.

On the same date, personnel of the SWA [South-West African] Territory Force had been reduced from an initial 21,935 to only 73 who were still in service.

A military spokesman, Cdt Fanie Krige, said SADF personnel would be reduced by Saturday [24 June] to the 1,500 men confined to bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo as required by the UN settlement plan.

The reduction of forces was a week ahead of schedule.

South Africa budgeted R146 million for the withdrawal of men and equipment from Namibia.

Ghana

Ban of Religious Groups' Activities Noted

AB1706173589 Accra Domestic Service in English
1300 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Kofi Amponsah Bediako commentary]

[Text] (?The sphere) of human life which has the potential of promoting the progress and happiness of mankind is religion. Religion should supplement the efforts of the state in fulfilling the needs of the people. But certain religious groups have over the years been engaging in activities that can create disorder in society.

One such group is the Jehovah's Witnesses. Members of this sect have, on countless occasions, refused to take part in any form of state functions, since in their view all such activities amount to idol worship. Adult members of the Jehovah's Witnesses movement have persistently instructed their children not to salute the national flag. These same Jehovah's Witnesses agree to be employed by the government and be paid by her. And yet when the state calls on them for a patriotic duty such as communal labor they refuse to contribute their quota. Such an attitude clearly undermines the sovereignty of the state.

Like the Jehovah's Witnesses sect, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Mormons, also works in a way that is contrary to national aspirations. The church is well known at its U.S. headquarters for its racist and antiblack bias. One even wonders how a church of this background came to be allowed to set up branches in Ghana in the first place. The original doctrine of the Mormons was that blacks cannot be saved. Recently the church has amended this to read that some blacks are capable of salvation—hence its presence in Africa. A close study of their activities reveals that Africans employed to work for the organization are being constantly discriminated against. Religious freedom is no license to undermine the sovereignty and interests of the state.

Apart from the two religious sects, the activities of other religious organizations also leave much to be desired. For example, the activities of the Nyame Som Pa Church at Ekwamkrom in the Central Region and Jesus Christ of Dzorwulu, Accra, are not conducive to public morality and decency. There are other churches, too many to be mentioned, which play on the innocence of people. Undoubtedly the activities of all these churches need to be regulated by the state if sanity is to prevail. The ban on some of the churches should be extended to cover all others whose activities are not in line with the national interest or public morality and decency. Religion must promote progress, not retrogression.

Jehovah's Witness Publications Banned

AB1706191689 Accra Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] secretary responsible for information has in exercise of the powers conferred under Section 2 of the Newspaper Licensing Law of 1989, PNDC Law 211, withdrawn the licenses of the following newspapers and magazines which are published by the Jehovah's Witnesses sect. Accordingly, they are to cease publication and circulation in Ghana with immediate effect. The publications are AWAKE, together with its Twi [local language] translation, the WATCHTOWER, together with its Twi, Ga, and Ewe [local languages] translation, and OUR KINGDOM MINISTRY, together with its Twi, Ga, and Ewe translations.

Banned Churches' Premises Inspected

AB1706084989 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The commander of the Civil Defense Organization [CDO], Colonel Alex Antwi, has called on all cadres to desist from misusing any property of the churches whose activities have been frozen in the country. He was speaking during an inspection tour of some of the premises of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the Jehovah's Witnesses sect in Accra to ensure that they comply with the government order. He said that there are reports that certain cadres and other members of the public have been harassing members of the two sects and taking over their vehicles.

At the Church of Latter-Day Saints at Ridge and Osu, the areas were virtually deserted and being guarded by militiamen. An official of the church briefed Col Antwi on how they were complying with the government order. The scene was the same at the Jehovah's Witnesses Kingdom Hall at the Castle Junction, Osu.

Churches' Use for Politics Condemned

AB2006204889 Accra Domestic Service in English
2000 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] The Commission on National Culture has announced the procedure for the registration of all religious groups as provided for under the new religious bodies registration law which was signed last week. A statement issued today by the commission said registration forms will be ready for collection from the district and metropolitan administrations throughout the country from the 28th of this month. All religious bodies have 3 months within which to register. The forms are to be completed and submitted together with the constitutions, names of trustees, and other office holders, emoluments of principal officers, financial statements for 1987-1988, and the sources of funding for the body. All

registration forms are to be forwarded through the district and metropolitan administrations to the commission. The commission directs district and metropolitan assemblies to inspect the places intended to be used for worship and attach their reports to the application before forwarding them.

Another statement by the Ministry of the Interior said it has come to its notice that certain individuals and groups are using or planning to use church premises as meeting grounds in furtherance of their political schemes. It points out that the use of such premises for activities calculated to undermine national unity violates the sanctity of the church and constitutes an abuse of the freedom of religious worship. The ministry warns all those concerned that the use of church premises as a cover for political subterfuge will not be tolerated under any circumstances. Any person or group of persons who attempt to misuse the sanctuary of any church premises to engage in covered political maneuvers will therefore face the consequences of their actions. The statement appeals to the clergy and members of the congregations to protect and guard against the misuse of church premises for such activities.

Liberia

Defense Ministry Denies 'Fake Coup' Reports

AB2206070089 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT
21 Jun 89

[Text] Monrovia, June 21 (AFP)—The Liberian Ministry of Defense on Wednesday denied allegations that it is planning a "fake coup" in order to arrest and implicate opposition members.

The opposition Unity Party (UP) on Friday [16 June] warned of a bogus plot designed to tarnish its own members, but Defense Minister Gray Allison said Wednesday [21 June] he did not know where the opposition got its information.

"I consider it a speculation," Gen. Allison said. "Someone is afraid of his shadow and is trying to impress people with the allegation, which is not specific."

Leaders of Liberia's three opposition parties—the UP, the Liberian Action Party (LAP) and the United People's Party (UPP)—held consultative meetings June 1-2 despite a government warning that the conference constituted a merger and was "illegal."

President Samuel Doe later said the parties could meet if they "caused no chaos."

The opposition parties have since issued statements critical of government policy.

Opposition Party Condemns Radio Station's Closure

AB1606183789 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] The Unity Party has learned with disgust the closure of ELCM, the Catholic radio station, by the Ministry of Information. The alleged reason for the closure of ELCM is that the station had broadcast a news item which the Information Ministry claims was false. According to a release from the Unity Party, what they find most reprehensible in this matter is the fact that this institution of the executive branch of government has once again arrogated unto itself powers that the Constitution of Liberia only reserves to the judiciary. We recall that the SUNTIMES, FOOTPRINTS TODAY, and KOKOLIOKO newspapers were all closed down by the Ministry of Information without due process of law. Yet the NDPL [National Democratic Party of Liberia] government will have the Liberian people and the world believe that they are committed to the rule of law and respect for the Constitution of Liberia.

By all standards, ELCM is about the most objective radio station when it comes to reporting events in the country. No doubt, this is what frightens the Information Ministry and its [word indistinct]. The Information Ministry claims that ELCM's newscast of June 11, 1989 damaged the image of the country. In point of fact, this is not correct. The country's image would have been damaged if the incident of June 11, 1989 at the football stadium had not been reported, or if it had been whitewashed by all news organs of the country. What has damaged the country's image abroad is the action of the Ministry of Information, which has now cast itself into the role of complainant, jury, and judge.

The release then said Unity Party roundly condemns this unconstitutional move to muzzle the news organs of Liberia. We therefore call up the Ministry of Information to lift the present ban on ELCM and to go to court if that ministry is convinced that it has [word indistinct] in law and against the Catholic station.

Church Group Condemns Closing

AB2006220189 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2000 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Excerpt] The Knights and Ladies of (?Malta), a fraternal organization in the Catholic Church, views with dismay the arbitrary closure of the ELCM community radio station by the Ministry of Information on 15 June this year. The action of the ministry and its collaborators must be condemned in no uncertain terms because it runs contrary to constitutional law and its practices. [passage omitted]

Doe Warns Church Leaders

AB2206211789 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1709 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] President Samuel Kanyon Doe has called on religious leaders in the country to respect government and be law-abiding. If they do not, the president said,

they will be publicly disgraced. President Doe made the warning today when he dedicated the first phase of the C.H. Dewey High School reconstruction project in Tubmanburg, Bomi County. In his remarks, the president made his first reaction to the recent closure of the Catholic-owned ELCM Community Radio by the Government of Liberia:

[Begin Doe recording] When we gave you authority to operate radio station, you must lie, you must use your radio station as a political bureau? [Words indistinct] they would come and say [words indistinct] happy with my administration. As a bishop, if you do not respect yourself, we will disgrace you openly. We cannot allow any church to interfere with government business. Without government there will be no church. We do not interfere with churches' affairs. If they want subsidy, anything they want; we assisted them in the past, but they should not use their radio station to curtail... [changes thought] Otherwise they are going to scare the people from going on the football field, as they know we are trying to promote our national team to go to the World Cup. And this is a national [words indistinct] by ELCM and they will forever remain closed. [applause] [end recording]

President Doe also cautioned religious leaders in the country to be more patriotic and sincere:

[Begin Doe recording] The 1985 invasion could have been avoided, because after the 1983 Nimba [word indistinct] Quiwonkpa was kept in this country for 6 months by a bishop and he was taken away secretly from this country. And I do not think this is the work of God. If you use God, if you lie on God, he will punish you openly. [applause] So, [words indistinct] our religious leaders will respect you. If you respect yourself, we will continue to respect you. But if you try to use the pulpit to castigate government, then we will deal with you. [end recording]

President Samuel Kanyon Doe also called on parents of Bomi County to advise their children not to engage in acts of vandalism. The first phase of the C.H. Dewey reconstruction project includes the academic buildings and administrative offices. According to the chairman of the project, [words indistinct] Posts and Telecommunications Minister Morris Dukuly, the first phase in the project is estimated at \$675,000.

Nigeria

Government Critics Arrested on Meetings Charge
AB1806183289 Paris AFP in English 1449 GMT
18 Jun 89

[Text] Lagos, June 18 (AFP)—Three of Nigeria's most vocal government critics have been arrested for defying a police ban on a conference to discuss the country's economic austerity policies, authoritative sources disclosed Sunday [18 June].

Tai Solarin, the country's best-known educator, Gani Fahwehinmi, a well-known lawyer who is an outspoken critic of President Ibrahim Babangida's four-year-old military government, and Michael Amoudu, a labour leader, were arrested Saturday in Mr Fahwehinmi's law offices, the sources said.

The three had called a conference on "alternatives to the structural adjustment plan."

The SAP, as is it commonly known here, is a program of economic liberalization measures devised by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Compliance opens the door to cheap loans not only from the two institutions but also from other governments and banks.

The program has been widely blamed here for a falling standard of living harshly affecting Africa's most populous nation, whose once huge oil revenues dwindled as oil prices plummeted.

The country's labor confederation, the Nigerian Labor Congress, had initially planned to hold the conference at its headquarters, but when an audience of several hundred people showed up, so did the police—to order them to disperse.

Mr Fahwehinmi then invited the crowd to his office.

He had previously alleged two senior military intelligence officers sent a letter-bomb that killed Dele Giwa, a magazine editor and former NEW YORK TIMES employee, in 1986. On June 2, a court ordered him to pay the two men three million naira (about 250,000 dollars) in libel damages.

Mr Solarin, an academic, was arrested for a day earlier this month after confessing to being the author of a leaflet that quoted the black U.S. magazine EBONY as reporting that General Babangida was the world's richest general and seventh-richest person, with 400 million pounds (600 million dollars) in cash.

EBONY, it turned out, had never published such an article, but the leaflet, which circulated during recent riots, was partly blamed for the violence.

The editor of the Lagos-based newspaper THE REPUBLIC was also arrested Saturday [17 June], press reports said Sunday.

Paxton Idowu was arrested when he surrendered to security officials in exchange for his wife and three employees of the newspaper—two of them journalists—who were detained the previous day. His wife and the three men were released after Mr Paxton's appearance, the reports said.

The reports attributed the editor's arrest to either the newspaper's report last Thursday of allegations of wrongdoing made by a detained businessman against the country's number two man in government, Rear-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, or the newspaper's story Friday on the increase in the allowances of government workers.

Calabar, Tafawa Balewa Universities Remain Closed
AB1506220289 Lagos Domestic Service in English
2100 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] The University of Calabar will not be reopened after the mid-semester break [words indistinct]. A statement signed by the registrar of the institution, Mr Emmanuel Akpa, said it would remain closed till further notice. He therefore advised staff and students to watch out for further announcements on the reopening of the institution.

In a like manner, the registrar of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, [name indistinct], says the institution will remain closed until clearances are received from the federal government. Dr Suleman said in a notice to all staff of the institution that [words indistinct] the federal government's directive that all universities closed down following the anti-SAP [Structural Adjustment Program] demonstrations should remain closed [words indistinct] otherwise. Students of the institution were ordered to proceed on a 2-week midsemester vacation in the wake of the demonstrations. The registrar advised all students to stay at home until they were requested to return for normal academic activities.

Jos University Closure Extended 'Indefinitely'
AB1506123289 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] The closure of the University of Jos has been extended indefinitely. The registrar of the institution, Mr George Kogba, has in a statement in Jos directed students to remain in their homes pending an announcement of a new resumption date. The university was closed down on June the 5th in the wake of students' unrest.

Education Ministry Orders Girls College Reopened
AB2206175189 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Education has ordered the reopening of the Federal Government Girls College, [place name indistinct], which is among the institutions closed as a result of recent student disturbances. An official statement in Lagos today directed all students of the school to report at the institution tomorrow for resumption of classes on Monday [26 June].

4 Ogun State Institutions To Reopen 22 Jun
AB2106205289 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] The Ogun State governor, Navy Captain Mohamed Lawal, has directed the reopening of four higher institutions of learning in the state with effect from tomorrow. They are the Ogun State University, (Agoyuwe); University of Agriculture, Abeokuta; the Federal College of Education, and the State Polytechnic. Navy Capt Lawal spoke of the maturity, patriotism, and dedication which the students showed during the recent nationwide disturbances. He enjoined the staff and students of the institutions to put the peace and stability of the nation as well as the progress of their own academic pursuit above every other consideration.

1,000 Prisoners Take Government to Court
AB1506180589 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT
15 Jun 89

[Text] Lagos, June 15 (AFP)—A thousand prisoners held without trial here for five years took legal action Wednesday [14 June] against the Nigerian Government for allegedly mistreating them, press reports said Thursday.

In a suit filed on their behalf by the Nigerian Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), the detainees urged the High Court to close this 113-year-old prison because of its deplorable conditions.

The prison, built for only 800 prisoners, currently has 2,430 inmates, of whom 1,930 are still to be tried, CLO official Clement Nwankwo told the court.

Fifty-four detainees died there between January and June last year, he said, adding that the "circumstances of the prison incarceration violate all known civilized norms of penology".

No date has been fixed yet for the hearing, the reports said.

Bendel State Governor Orders Release of Rioters
AB2106103189 Lagos Domestic Service in English
2100 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Governor Tunde Ogbeha [of Bendel State] has directed the immediate release of over 100 persons arrested during the recent student disturbances in the state. A government statement in Benin today explained that the governor's action followed a thorough screening of the arrested persons during which they were found innocent. According to the statement, a few other persons who were also arrested are still undergoing interrogation on their roles in the riot. The statement gave an assurance that no person would be unjustly penalized as a result of the public and private property destroyed by rioters during the disturbances. Two hundred and fifty-four persons were arrested by the police during the riots.

Babangida Chairs Structural Relief Meeting
AB1706214989 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The second meeting of the national committee to implement the measures aimed at easing the pains of the Structural Adjustment Program, SAP, has been in progress at Dodan Barracks. Following his pledge to personally supervise the implementation of the measures, President Ibrahim Babangida is presiding over the meeting. General Babangida received situation reports on the implementation schedule from the relevant ministries and parastatals responsible for the relief package.

Some of the leading ministers attending the meeting include those of finance and economic development, labor and productivity, transport, health, and education. Others are those of work and housing, budgets and planning, as well as petroleum resources. Heads of relevant agencies and parastatals are also attending the meeting.

Hiring of 62,000 Unemployed Sought
AB1806102589 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Text] The federal government has approved 65 million naira for the National Directorate of Employment for the implementation of part of the economic relief package. This followed the meeting of the National Implementation Committee on the relief measures held in Lagos yesterday. The money will be used for the absorption of 62,000 unemployed persons to be drawn from the various categories of the labor force, including graduates and nongraduates. An official statement says that recruitment will take place between the 26th of this month and the 11th of next month.

Twenty-two million naira was approved for the Federal Ministry of Works for the recruitment of over 10,000 workers, including graduate engineers, surveyors, architects, and land officers. Nongraduate applicants will be recruited by the ministry between Thursday and Saturday this week, while the recruitment of graduates will commence on the 3d of next month. The government also approved 4.4 million naira for the recruitment of science, mathematics, and technical teachers in the Ministry of Education. In addition to this is the provision of 5 million naira for the establishment of food farms which will involve federal universities, polytechnics, colleges of education, federal government colleges, and federal schools of arts and science. Six million naira was allocated to the Federal Ministry of Health to direct on the immediate recruitment of doctors and other medical personnel. The exercise will be concluded before the end of next month.

Also approved was a sum of \$3 million [currency as heard] to direct on the immediate importation of essential drugs by the Federal Ministry of Health for both federal and state public health institutions. Manufacturers of pharmaceutical products will be given access to \$5

million for the importation of raw materials, spare parts, and other equipment. This is to enable them to produce essential drugs in the country.

The National Implementation Committee also agreed that all operators in the transport sector should have speedy access to the \$3 million already allocated to that sector. The Ministry of State for Budget and Planning has been directed to release the sums approved to the various coordinating ministries tomorrow. The committee will meet again on Wednesday [21 June] this week.

Works Ministry Begins Recruitment
AB2206211189 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The recruitment of unemployed persons by the Federal Ministry of Works began today throughout the federation. Four hundred and sixty applicants are to be recruited by each state during the exercise, which will last 3 days. The minister of works and housing, Major General Mamman Kontagoran, told newsmen in Lagos today that the ministry received over (?22.2) million naira for the implementation of the program.

A Radio Nigeria correspondent reports that those being recruited are mainly artisans who will be used for direct labor. Successful applicants are expected to commence work on the 3d of next month. Applications from graduates are to be sent to the ministry's headquarters in Lagos for screening not later than the 3d of next month.

Appeal Made for Broader UK Aid Package
AB1606062589 Lagos Domestic Service in English
2100 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] The federal government has urged Britain to consider broadening its aid package to Nigeria. The minister of science and technology, Prof Emmanuel Emovon, made the appeal while receiving a delegation of the three-man select committee on science and technology of the British House of Lords. Professor Emovon said that the British aid package, which at the moment concentrated on the development of manpower, should also include the provision of some vital equipment. He said while the training of personnel was necessary, it was also imperative that those trained should have the equipment with which to work. The minister said the country was in dire need of development and he banned the notion that [word indistinct] was suspicious of foreign aid. According to Professor Emovon, the country can easily see when strings are attached to a package.

People's Solidarity Party Head Defines Objectives
AB1606217089 London BBC World Service in English
1730 GMT 16 Jun 89

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Since the federal military government in Nigeria decided to lift the ban on politics in the country early last month, more than 30 new political associations have

emerged. They face strict rules of approval that have been set up by the National Electoral Commission, NEC, and they are anxious to avoid any association with former banned politicians or parties. Well, given all this, all the parties are looking for ways of making their mark on the electorate through publicity, through slogans, mottos, and the usual sort of publicity [word indistinct] that crop up. One party, the People's Solidarity Party, otherwise known as the PSP, has chosen as its symbol a broom. Well, in Kano, northern Nigeria, Mohamed Abdulaye asked the PSP's national pro tem chairman why:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified party chairman] A broom symbolizes many things. First of all, there is a popular Nigerian adage that divided we are weak and collectively and tied together we are strong, as one. So it's a symbol of all Nigerians, from all parts of this country, once again coming together under the bond of the national aspirations to build a strong Nigeria, and secondly, there has been a lot of dirt in this country accumulated all over the years, dirt of corruption, dirt of embezzlement, dirt of laxity, and so many other social evils, and we want to use the broom to clean those dirt.

[Abdulaye] Well, to what extent is your party a (?national) one?

[Chairman] It is, I believe, the most national party in Nigeria, because we have the widest geographical spread of all the political parties, and I believe that by the time I will submit our application, we will have the highest registered members of all the political parties.

[Abdulaye] Do you think PSP will be able to fulfill all the conditions laid down by the National Electoral Commission—that is, the guidelines?

[Chairman] Well, I believe if we will have to, we will. But I can assure you that the conditions are stringent. When we look at them, we view them with mixed feelings. We thought they should not be easy because there are so many mushroom political organizations coming up, I think essentially to get publicity. I will believe at the end of the day most of them will just fizzle out.

[Abdulaye] I have also noticed that one of the objectives of your association is to make Nigeria free. What do you mean precisely by making Nigeria free?

[Chairman] Well, we believe that Nigeria itself is under the bondage of rich nations. Right now, our economy, our actions, including some of our political actions, are being dictated to us from outside. The situation is so because economically we are weak, we are indebted, and we have to accept some conditions sent to us from outside. So, we want to free Nigeria from that type of bondage. Secondly, we have a situation now in which the rich Nigerians are becoming increasingly richer and the poor Nigerians are becoming increasingly poorer. Look at the national wage, for example. Only some 3 years ago, you can say the national wage is equivalent to at least

100 pounds sterling. Now, the minimum national wage I think is at the equivalent of about 12 to 15 pounds sterling, and this is, I think, very bad. It is a very serious bondage, and we want the majority of Nigerians to be better off. We want to free them from this type of exploitation. [end recording]

Police Clear Aikhomu of Corruption Charges
AB2206214289 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The press secretary to the chief of general staff [CGS], Mallam Mamman Yusuf, says the police have cleared the chief of general staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, of allegations of corruption. Mallam Mamman told State House correspondents in Lagos today that the CGS was looking into seeking a legal redress.

On the issue of the Structural Adjustment Program, SAP, the press secretary said the government had at no time insisted that there was no alternative, but what was required was a better alternative. Mallam Yusuf challenged for a public debate anyone who had a better alternative to SAP. He explained that one Alhaji Mohamed Bashir was being detained for what he described as the totality of Bashir's criminal exploit both at home and abroad.

Aviation Minister Says No Illegal Airstrip Found
AB2106104089 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 21 Jun 89

[From the "Correspondent Reports" program]

[Excerpt] The minister of aviation, Alhaji Bunu Sherif Musa, says no illegal airstrip has been discovered in the country. There are currently over 70 airstrips in the country, and the minister was speaking in Lagos during an interview with airport correspondents. Pius Egbohon was there for Radio Nigeria:

[Begin Egbohon recording] Alhaji Bunu Sherif said the government was constantly monitoring activities at the various airstrips to ensure that they were not used as (?channels for smuggling goods). On the facilities at all the 15 airports in the country, the minister gave an assurance that the government will continue to ensure that they were in good working condition. In answer to a question, the minister agreed that if adequate facilities were provided and maintained the usual delays and cancellations of flights due to bad weather will be reduced. He said facilities at some airports like Abuja, Calabar, Port Harcourt, and Lagos were being upgraded [passage omitted] [end recording]

Former Transport Minister Dikko Interviewed

AB2006205289 Paris AFP in English 1746 GMT
20 Jun 89

[Text] Lagos, June 20 (AFP)—“My life is still threatened if I should go to Nigeria now,” former Transport Minister Umaru Dikko has told the Lagos-based NEWS-WATCH magazine in an interview from his British exile.

“I will return to Nigeria immediately democracy is restored,” Mr Dikko said in an interview in the current issue of the weekly.

“I will lead a worthy cause not aimed at securing a political position but at ensuring liberty and true freedom for all Nigerians.”

The British Government announced last month that it would no longer renew Mr Dikko's residence permit, which expired on June 1. He has since appealed against the decision.

Mr Dikko, transport minister in the civilian regime of ex-President Shugu Shagari (1979-83), fled Nigeria for Britain in the wake of a military coup that ousted the government on December 31, 1983.

He is wanted here on charges of corruption while in office.

He alleged that the government had a hand in an attempt to kidnap him in London on July 5, 1984, and accusation which the authorities here have always denied.

British police found Mr Dikko drugged in a crate marked “diplomatic baggage” at Stansted Airport, ready to be flown to Nigeria.

A Nigerian and three Israelis, convicted of this kidnap attempt, are serving out jail terms in London.

SWAPO's Nujoma Attends Fund-Raising Effort

AB1706113389 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Nigeria has pledged her continued assistance to needy African countries to promote even-handed development on the continent. The country will also call for relief when natural calamities occur in nations on the continent. President Ibrahim Babangida gave the assurance today in Lagos while launching the Namibia solidarity fund. President Babangida stressed that the continent needed basic security and stability as preconditions for social and economic progress. President Babangida emphasized that the United Nations should see to it that the projected Namibian independence date in 1990 was not delayed by 1 day.

Over 8 million naira was realized at the launching of the Namibia solidarity fund in Lagos. State House correspondent Reginald Okoje reports that the ceremony was impressive:

[Begin Okoje recording] It was like a roll call of who is who in government, the diplomatic corps, and the various communities. Members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, ministers and ambassadors, as well as bank executives were all there. President Ibrahim Babangida, who launched the fund, explained why the federal government embarked on the project. He said it was because Nigerians had a unique national character of sharing the problems of their brothers and sisters anywhere in the African countries. He told the public that the hard times will not change this spirit. [passage omitted]

When the president of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] was called upon to speak, he was overwhelmed. He came out from the audience, beamed a smile at the audience, and thanked Nigerians for a wonderful show of solidarity with the Namibian people. Mr Nujoma used the occasion to launch what observers described as his political manifesto. [passage omitted]

The SWAPO leader said that an independent Namibia will need manpower assistance from Nigeria to operate some new institutions to be created. The Namibia solidarity fund will be launched in the 29 states as from next week. The target of the fund is 100 million naira. [end recording]

Senegal

*** Bathily Demands Elections To Prevent Coup**

34190216b Dakar FAGARU in French Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Yero De on news conference at LD/MPT [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party] Headquarters]

[Text] “The emergence of the military factor with the sanctioning of General Tavares Dasouza and other high-ranking officers undeniably aggravates an already deteriorating situation. By the sanctioning, which follows the destabilization of the police force, the government openly discomfited the military which, as far as could be seen, had been spared the ups and downs on the political scene until now.”

“True to our principles, our party without doubt rejects the military alternative as a solution to the political crisis, but realizes that merely expressing its principles will not suffice to prevent a coup d'etat. We must go further. We are in favor of a military reform that would give full civic rights to all commissioned and noncommissioned officers and soldiers, including the right to vote as we proposed for a future reform of voting laws. As long as the Army's sole functions continue to be parade and repression and as long as the Army is cloistered in an ivory tower where its men exist as separate citizens, the coup d'etat will always figure as a permanent threat in the dynamics of our society's political contradictions and of others like it. In Senegal as in other Third World countries, the economic weight, the

organizational level and cohesion of the civilian elements of society are still too weak to mount effective resistance to the aggression of armed groups, which have sole possession of the instruments of violence. Military intervention, which looms like a fatality over our countries, could nonetheless be exercised through effective democratization of social and political life. The threat of a coup d'etat now weighing over Senegal's political life is an outgrowth of the stalled democratic process for which the obstinacy of the governing PS [Socialist Party] is responsible."

These were the introductory remarks of Ablaye Bathily, speaking to the press at our national headquarters on Wednesday 22 March, in which he presented a clear statement of our position on the military solution to the political crisis of our country. Two questions provided an opportunity to take the clarification further.

[CAFARD LIBERE] Is the LD/MPT [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party] honestly not tempted by a coup scenario, since it calls for "all means" to be used in order to bring about change?

[FAGARU] What historical experience do we have of the role and attitude of the Army in crisis situations?

Due to the government's refusal to move toward a democratic political solution to the crisis, due to the power struggle among Socialist Party clans interwoven with the Army's upper echelons through family ties and common interests, due to the dangerous game of politics being played by Diouf and Collin inside the PS and in state affairs, due to built-up frustrations in the Army and the Army's own crisis in the image of the Senegalese society, "the military question is no longer a hypothetical scenario. We say we have a loyalist Army? We say we have a constitutionalist Army? The same was said of the Chilean Army, but Pinochet's coup d'etat was the bloodiest coup in Latin America. Of course military coups vary in nature according to the interests of the social base of the groups initiating them. There are left-wing coups, right-wing coups. We are not in favor of a military government because we believe that the country's political forces are capable of solving the problems that arise. If there are citizens in the Army who want change, they should be allowed to express their opinions in elections just like any other citizen. Any talk of a coup scenario is out of the question for us. It is foreign to the nature of our party." Foreign to the democratic political culture we want to help establish.

Then what is the solution we are fighting for?

"The government must be made by all possible means to accept what is evident: The country wants change here and now. The interests of the people call out for us to fight for democratic change. The only way to satisfy this demand is to let the people speak by organizing early elections based on new voting laws agreed to with a consensus of the political parties. It is our conviction

that this is the only prospect that could lead to a lasting solution to the political crisis. Any waiting games and high-level schemes that disregard this important demand would only heighten society's frustrations and prolong the economic debacle, thereby opening the door to adventurist initiatives that will victimize the forces truly interested in the consolidation of democracy."

The journalists then tried another tack.

[XAREBI and CAFARD LIBERE] What is your position on a national unity government?

Sopi [a PDS slogan meaning change]: Isn't the popular movement more radical than the political organizations as to the means to use in the struggle?

If the country is still in turmoil 1 year after the February 1988 elections, it is because the people reject the forced outcome of the voting. "Those elections must be called into question. For our part, we want to see reason triumph over subjectivism and egocentrism in the government before it is too late. We must know who stands for what before we can talk of a national unity government." We must have free and democratic elections based on new voting laws. That is democracy. "What will solve the problems is a new election, not an unelected national unity government. That scenario does not appeal to us; we will not accept it." Indeed, we are militants firmly committed to democracy, which is a popular demand. Ablaye Bathily then simply referred the journalists to his many statements on the issue, particularly in the March 1989 edition of FAGARU, which we reprint below:

"A national unity government (based on new elections and a programmatic agreement) can be lasting and responsive to the objective of national reconstruction only if it excludes those responsible for the country's current debacle. A true policy of change must be implemented by the men and women of change, without the grave diggers of the nation's economy."

"The essential question therefore is, are we heading for new elections or not? If the answer is yes, then we can discuss the political conditions needed to guarantee free and democratic elections so that the verdict from the polls will be accepted by all and the country can sit down to work. In that case, there could be discussion of a transitional government of national unity to organize new elections."

"That could be a basis for discussions among all the political forces to prevent the defrauders from leading the country into the same impasse." Ablaye Bathily added, however, "Does this mean that the LD/MPT will be part of a transitional government? That is another matter." Everything in its proper time. When the time is right, the party will state its position in clear terms as is its custom. Another solution to ensure the openness of elections is "a political commission made up of all

parties to supervise the elections," a proposal made at the national roundtable. There are several formulas to be considered, provided that we take real steps toward a peaceful solution to the crisis and are willing to reestablish truth in politics so that everyone will know who stands for what. This is what the country needs in order to move ahead. Those with a majority could then govern the country with whatever alliances, if any, they see fit.

We are, therefore, in favor of a negotiated democratic solution. But if the usurpers of power reject this approach, popular pressures could persist and build to the point where they will be forced to leave. "That, too, is a democratic solution, since democracy means the will of the people. We do not rule out this possibility at all."

Other questions were raised by the journalists:

[FAGARU] What is the party's position on the threat of another year of disruption at the university?

The response was unequivocal: "This year, there will be no disruption of classes. The people will not stand for it. We must start organizing as of now. It is no longer an issue for teachers unions and student associations; it is an issue for the people. Citizens must take to the streets to let it be known that they do not want a suspension of classes and force the government to either settle the problems immediately or step down. If there is to be a year of disruption, as someone has said, let it be a dark year for the government."

[XAREBI] What is the initiative for re-forming the group of 8 and the group of 3?

"We believe that the opposition must be reunited. In cooperation with the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] and the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor], we initiated overtures toward the group of 8 to mark the anniversary of the events of February 1988." That could have been a good cause for starting the unification process, particularly in view of the fact that the PDS, the PIT and the LD/MPT had agreed to work on the basis of the smallest common denominator. But nothing came of it. "We have not lost hope, however, because our party is deeply in favor of unity and our aspiration for unity is shared by the PDS and the PIT as well as by the Senegalese people."

"I believe that at one point, there were tactical departures from the national roundtable, but that does not mean that we should close the door on any possibility of an understanding. We are united by something infinitely more important. The party's leadership in the political bureau has asked us to continue to take initiatives. We will do so."

[SUD HEBDO] Are you concerned about your own safety in view of all the death threats?

On Monday the 13th, insults and death threats were in fact made by telephone by hatchet men and persons hired against Bathily and Wade Dansokho. Ablaye [Bathily] simply added, "The government should not believe that it can stop the popular mobilization by eliminating one leader or another. On the contrary, that will only precipitate its fall. We do not need to use physical violence against individuals. We are not interested in them personally. We are not in favor of settling up personal scores, even after a change of government, although some may have to account for the way they ran things. But, political problems should be settled politically."

[ORTS—Senegalese Radio and Television]: What do you make of the elimination of the national ballot proposed at the PS convention?

"The PS has internal problems. Its own elections are fraudulent. As a remedy, they decided on a voter identification system and to eliminate the movement of people from place to place to avoid multiple votes in their districts. That is what we want for our national government and they are refusing. They also claim that the deputies on the PS national ballot were not democratically designated." That is another sign of the undemocratic way in which the PS functions internally. That is their own problem. It is up to them to establish the democratic mechanisms necessary so that their national slate will reflect the will of their membership. "What we need in our national government is not the elimination of the national ballot, but the institution of proportional voting."

* Opposition Responds to President's Speech

34190201b Dakar SUD HEBDO in French 6 Apr 89 p 8

[Article by Abdoulaye Ndiaga Sylla]

[Excerpts]

Babacar Niang Expresses Views

Concern and deception—this is how the impressions left by President Abdou Diouf on the secretary general of the Party for the Liberation of the People (PIP), Babacar Niang, can be summarized. This leader says that in his 3 April message "Mr Abdou Diouf, who practically closed the door on negotiations, seems rather calmly to foresee another wasted school year. And rather than engage in and pursue serious negotiations in a sincere desire to achieve results that will protect the school year for the universities, his government has made the decision not to pay out the salaries for the month of March. This decision is not of a sort to improve things. We are afraid that his attitude will push the teachers to the wall, and it points toward the unacceptable prospect of another wasted school year."

On the subject of the draft law that would amend the electoral code, Mr Babacar Niang described it as "not an advance, but a retreat, in terms of the reduction of the electoral campaign to 2 weeks, which is not enough, and the censorship powers conferred upon the minister of communications, which along with the reform, could block the publicizing of a candidate's statements and an appeal to obtain a ruling by the Supreme Court."

The leader of the PIP also commented that on many points—the representation of the political groups in the composition of the voting bureaus, the counting of the votes, the use of polling booths, and the method of electing municipal and rural council members—the status quo continues unchanged.

Giving his opinion of the innovation introduced with departmental balloting, Mr Babacar Niang recalled that his party "still advocates a return to the March 1951 law, which provides for the compulsory use of voting booths, identification of the voter, party representation at the polling places in vote counting operations, and proportional balloting."

On the subject of access to the media and the charter for democracy, the secretary general of the PIP believes that "the simple publication of party communiques, along with coverage of the congresses, is not enough to resolve the problem. We have consistently asked for an hour of radio time to allow the political groups to set forth their viewpoints on questions of national importance and answer journalists' questions." In addition, Mr Niang emphasized "the very serious setback represented by the proposed charter of democracy, to the extent that it introduces new political party dissolution clauses which are purely the product of an evaluation by the executive branch." [passage omitted]

Three Parties' Opinions

Messrs Abdoulaye Wade, Amath Dansokho, and Abdoulaye Bathily, the secretaries general, respectively, of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), the Party for Independence and Labor (PIT), and the Democratic League—Movement for the Labor Party (LD-MPT), gave journalists their evaluations of the popular demonstration on 4 April and their interpretations of President Abdou Diouf's message to the nation.

"The Senegalese people," they emphasized, "became aware of their rights, and they demonstrated yesterday that they are prepared to pay the price required to ensure that they are respected, so that democracy will make a daily advance. By reacting to an authoritarian government that is still determined to stifle the popular will, while at the same time allowing the Socialist Party (PS) to demonstrate freely in the public thoroughfares, the people demonstrated that they were not impressed by the authoritarian imprecations of Abdou Diouf."

After noting that the parade organized by Abdou Diouf involved the Army, Mr Wade gave his interpretation of the message of the chief of state. He stated his belief that "Abdou Diouf has bolted all the doors. There is the same attitude of exclusion and authoritarianism toward the electoral code, the charter for democracy, access to the media for political parties, and the ideas conceived by the PDS but distorted and emptied of their content—those pertaining to the universities, for example. Overall, I reject this message."

Amath Dansokho and Abdoulaye Bathily share this opinion, believing in addition that on issues as central as control of regular balloting, the voting age, the electoral campaign, and freedom of expression during this period, matters have not changed. "These measures," they went on to say, "are laughable, and we will oppose them." The partners in the liberal-communist alliance then went on to wonder "what game Abdou Diouf is playing, and why he remains deaf to the step taken by the religious head of the Tidjania, to the appeal for dialogue from Cardinal Thiandoum, to any search for a solution to the crisis." The leaders of the PDS, PIT, and LD-MPT explained that they "will continue their joint battle to win back the victory snatched from them. Manipulation, the use of gangsters armed by the PS, and threats will do no good."

There has been no break as yet, although Mr Wade explained that he will announce the second stage of the SOPI [a PDS slogan meaning change] and "will give Abdou Diouf and his regime—they have simply postponed the municipal elections because the Socialist Party is in a bad position—no respite." He also emphasized that he "remains open to all discussion on the installation of a transitional national union government with a view to organizing new elections and establishing the foundations for the reforms to be undertaken. Our desire is to put the country back to work."

Concerning the increasingly clear prospects for a second wasted school year, the participation of their groups in the elections on the basis of the amended electoral code, and a truce for the French-speaking summit meeting, the three alliance officials described the rejection of any serious discussion with the teachers as "an illustration of the responsibility of the government, which is committed to the destruction of the schools. We will fight to ensure that we do not have another wasted school year." The leaders of the PDS, PIT, and LD-MPT will take the decision as to whether or not to participate in the elections back to their party bodies. And in connection with the idea of the truce to allow the next French-speaking summit to be held, they emphasize that they put the interests of Senegal above any other event.

Conclusions of the AJ-MRDN

From the subject of the message addressed to the nation on the evening of 3 April by President Abdou Diouf, Mr Landing Savane, the secretary general of the AJ/MRDN [AND-JEF/Revolutionary Movement for the New

Democracy], extracted three major themes—the electoral code and access to the state-controlled media for the political parties, the charter for democracy, and the appeal to the teachers' union.

On the subject of the main guidelines of the draft law on the electoral code, the secretary general of the AJ/MRDN emphasized that Abdou Diouf gave the impression of being content with the present code and "suggested only a few changes. There has been no talk of an issue that in our view is central—the voting age. It does no good to speak of the problems of young people," he explained, "if steps are not taken to give them the right to vote at 18."

Noting that on this matter of the voting age, Abdou Diouf kept silent, Landing Savane voiced his skepticism about the promised advances in connection with the electoral code, departmental balloting in particular.

And what about access to the state-controlled media for the political parties?

"Things are unclear," Landing Savane commented. "It all seems as if marginal manipulation were being attempted, while avoiding resolution of the specific problems." The charter for democracy as presented by the chief of state does not find favor in the eyes of the AJ/MRDN leader, who sees it above all as "the regime's measure to protect itself, not even excluding the possibility of dissolving the political groups." According to Landing Savane, "Diouf is still thinking about the last electoral campaign, whereas the basic problem is instead how to restore the credibility of the institutions. To speak the truth," Landing Savane emphasized, "one has the impression that Abdou Diouf wants to bring everyone into line. Does the state have the resources? There is keen resistance within the public.

"In short," Mr Savane explained, "the speech by Abdou Diouf skirted the sociopolitical realities of the moment and the citizens' views about them. Otherwise, how could he appeal to the teachers to listen to the voice of reason at the very moment when these teachers, who have sought a solution to the crisis, are seeing their salaries cut?"

Appeal to Patriots and Democrats

Mamadou Dia reported the following appeal issued by Premier Mawdo of the Movement for Socialism and Democracy (MSD).

After delivering his message to the nation on 3 April 1989, showing the extent of his contempt for the people of Senegal, for whom he has no intention of resolving any problems, on 4 April Abdou Diouf demonstrated once again that he is prepared to subject the country to blood and fire in order to remain in power against the will of the people.

The situation thus created at least has the advantage of putting an end to any illusions the foreign mediators may have had in recent months about the search for a "negotiated solution to the crisis," which in the end benefited only Abdou Diouf.

He leaves the patriotic opposition only one honorable path—to rally within a framework of joint struggle, in order to satisfy not the ambitions of an individual or some group, but the profound desire of the Senegalese people for a radical change in the leadership teams, institutions, and structures.

Faced with imminent national catastrophe, we solemnly appeal to the democrats and the patriots in this country; to the political organizations of the opposition, excluding none; to the independent mass organizations (in particular, the youth, Islamic, and Christian organizations), urging that they join the national committee preparing for the congress of the people and the popular committees for resistance in the cities, the towns, the neighborhoods, and the factories, so that solutions to the crisis can be devised by the people themselves.

Patriots and democrats, a national imperative is at stake. It is a question of preserving the historic gains acquired in the heroic struggle of our people, and of saving democracy, the Senegalese schools, the future of our children, and thus the future of the entire nation, all of which are being dangerously threatened.

Teachers' Union Acts

The Autonomous Union of Teachers in Higher Education (SAES), in order to deal with what it terms "an illegal cut in the salaries of teachers in higher educational institutions effected at the end of March," has just filed a court suit seeking revocation of this measure. In this connection, an appeal for urgency was introduced and lawyers have been engaged to handle the case.

In addition, reacting to the appeal to the teachers issued by President Abdou Diouf in his 3 April message, the SAES expressed the view that this speech contributed nothing new. And it confirmed that it adheres to the proposals for a solution to the crisis as published in the press (see SUD HEBDO, No 46).

For the rest, the SAES says that it will leave matters to the people, and it remains convinced that history will be the judge.

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